Food Security: A Mapping of European Approaches

Alexander Gaus





Imprint

Disclaimer

The views expressed in this publication are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the German Marshall Fund of the United States or the Global Public Policy Institute.

Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi)

Reinhardtstr. 15 10117 Berlin

Phone: +49 · 30 · 275 959 75-0 Fax: +49 · 30 · 690 88 200

gppi@gppi.net • www.gppi.net

Author: Alexander Gaus

Published: Berlin, March 2012

About the author

Alexander Gaus is a research associate with the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin. His research and consulting work focuses on humanitarian assistance, development cooperation and monitoring and evaluation. In 2010-2011, he managed the joint GPPi-Cornell University research project Uniting on Food Assistance – Promoting Evidence-Based Transatlantic Dialogue and Convergence. He co-authored three chapters of the final output, the book *Uniting on Food Assistance* (Routledge 2012). Alexander holds a master's in political science from the University of Freiburg with a focus on international relations. He also received a Diplôme d'Administration et Politique Internationale from the Université Pierre Mèndes France in Grenoble, where he spent the academic year 2005-2006.

The author thanks the interviewees for sharing their knowledge. He also thanks Julia Steets and other reviewers from GPPi for their valuable comments.

Funder

The research for this study was generously funded by the German Marshall Fund of the United States as part of their project Transformational Partnerships: An Innovative Approach to Addressing Food Security in Africa.

Table of contents

Ab	strationsbreviations and acronyms	6
1	Introduction	9
2	The context of food insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa	10
3	Ups and downs of international aid to food security	15
4	An analysis of the policy and practice of selected European donors 2	20
	4.1The European Commission24.2France24.3Germany24.4United Kingdom34.5Common patterns among European food security donors3	25 29 32
5	Improving coordination among development partners	41
6	Conclusion	47
Anı	nex A: CRS purpose codes	54
Anı	by donor (millions 2009 US\$)5 nex C: Aid to agriculture, forestry, fisheries in Sub-Saharan Africa	
	by donor (millions 2009 US\$)5	58

Illustrations

1	Definitions	. 10
2	Timeline of selected international initiatives	. 14
3	How we measure aid to food security	. 15
Fig	ures	
1	Global aid to food security in absolute and relative terms	. 16
2	European aid to food security to Sub-Saharan Africa	
	in absolute and relative terms	. 18
3	Volume of European long- and short-term aid to food security	
	to Sub-Saharan Africa	. 19
4	Total aid to food security to Sub-Saharan Africa	
	by European donor, 1995-2010	20
5	European Commission – offical development assistance	
	and aid to food security to Sub-Saharan Africa	23
6	European Commission – breakdown of aid to food security	
	(by OECD categories)	24
7	France – offical development assistance and	
	aid to food security to Sub-Saharan Africa	27
8	France - breakdown of aid to food security (by OECD categories)	
9	Germany – offical development assistance and	
	aid to food security to Sub-Saharan Africa	31
10	Germany - breakdown of aid to food security (by OECD categories)	
11	United Kingdom – offical development assistance and	
	aid to food security to Sub-Saharan Africa	36
12	United Kingdom – breakdown of aid to food security (by OECD categories)	

Abbreviations and acronyms

A2FS..... Aid to food security AFD French Development Agency AFSI L'Aquila Food Security Initiative AGRA..... Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa APPG All Parliamentary Party Group on Agriculture and Food for Development AU..... African Union BMELV..... Federal Ministry for Food, Agriculture and Consumer Rights BMZ Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung CAADP Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme CDC Commonwealth Development Corporation CFA..... Comprehensive Framework for Action CFS..... Committee on World Food Security CICID Comité interministériel de la coopération et du développement or **Interministerial Committee for Cooperation and Development** CIRAD Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement CRS..... Creditor Reporting System DAC Development Assistance Committee DFID..... Department for International Development (UK) DG DEV Directorate-General Development DG DEVCO Directorate-General Development and Cooperation - EuropeAid DG ECHO Directorate-General Humanitarian Aid & Civil Protection EEAS..... European External Action Service EDF..... European Development Fund EU..... European Union FAO Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations FDI Foreign Direct Investment FSBL..... Food Security and Food Aid budget line FSTP..... Food Security Thematic Programme GAFPS Global Agriculture and Food Security Programme

GAFPS Global Agriculture and Food Security Programs
GDP Gross domestic product

GISA..... Groupe International sur la Sécurité Alimentaire
GIZ..... Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH

HLTF..... High-Level Task Force

IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development

KFW Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau

LRRD Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development

MDG..... Millennium Development Goals

NEPAD..... New Partnership for Africa's Development

OECD Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

ODA Official Development Assistance
PRBS Poverty Reduction Budget Support

SWAps Sector-wide approaches WTO...... World Trade Organization

Executive summary

In 2011, the international community had to mount a major relief operation to support millions threatened by hunger and starvation in the Horn of Africa. If nothing is done to increase availability of and access to food on a large scale, the recurring hunger crises felt across many parts of Africa will continue to grow.

Food security is in a precarious state in Sub-Saharan Africa, with millions of rural people undernourished and a growing urban population suffering from high food prices. The region has the world's highest level of food insecurity and ranks lowest in agricultural productivity globally. Poverty and structural problems in the agricultural sector are among the main reasons why food insecurity persists. The majority of small farmers struggle to secure adequate income and grow enough healthy food through their labor. And yet there is huge potential for farming and agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Donors can make an important contribution to increasing agricultural productivity and improving food security. This report seeks to support donors in their efforts to make their aid more effective and efficient. It does so by shedding light on what the most important European donors in the area of food security – the European Commission, France, Germany and the United Kingdom – do and by highlighting potentials for complementarity and coordination.

Aid volumes have been increasing, but remain too low

Around the turn of the century and after two decades of neglect, many European donors began to increase their support to agriculture, rural development and short-term food aid. This trend received another impetus with the marked rise in global food prices in 2008. The top four European donors have since invested more in fighting hunger; but the share of their aid to food security in relation to their total official development assistance budgeted for Sub-Saharan Africa remains only at around 13 percent in 2010. Given the potential of farming across Africa and the important effects of food security on fighting poverty and hunger, this figure seems not to reflect the international commitments voiced in numerous international meetings of making food security a development priority.

The main European donors share important views and policies ...

A common ground for European donors is nonetheless their shared view that specific support to food security is essential in reducing the number of hungry across Africa and fighting poverty. They acknowledge that long-term investments in the agricultural sector are necessary but have also significantly increased short-term activities to address the immediate effects of food insecurity. Most donors ac-

7

knowledge the prominent role of smallholder agriculture and rural development in achieving food security. In doing so, European donors generally share a government-centred approach and overwhelmingly support the public sector over the private sector when managing long-term aid to food security. Lastly, European donors are increasingly considering new financing modalities to leverage private investments as a way of better addressing the private sector. The European Commission, France, Germany and the UK, however, also differ in their way of addressing Sub-Saharan food insecurity. They often support different areas within aid to food security with many instances of gaps and overlaps. This requires a strong push towards greater coordination to increase the effectiveness of aid and to find lasting solutions to agricultural development.

... but coordination remains in its infancy

Despite increasing quantities of aid in Sub-Saharan Africa, the lack of donor coordination reduces the impact of this aid. The variety of approaches financed – such as long term rural development, food assistance in emergencies, aid through grants, preferential loans or special funds open to the private sector – all offer the opportunity of creating complementarity among donors. Yet, coordination is largely in its infancy.

A difficulty is the lack of coordination and complementarity between short-term food assistance and long-term agricultural development. This is a challenge both for individual donors in organizing their own aid portfolios and for the broader development community, where a lack of funding for recovery and transition activities, as well as a lack of focus of development activities on prevention of and preparedness for emergencies remains a common issue. Regarding in-country coordination of aid addressing rural and agricultural development, donor activities are still for the most part fragmented and spread across countless projects due to the difficulties with locally owned development programs.

Given these features of donor assistance, the quality of aid to food security will essentially be determined by improving policy coherence among donors and increasing efforts of coordination and potentially joint country level implementation to ensure that gaps are closed and duplications avoided. Here, greater donor cooperation among Europeans and international donors, but also with the emerging actors of international development cooperation, recipient governments and local businesses is necessary.

1 Introduction

With less than four years to go, the world remains way off track in fulfilling one of the primary promises made by governments a decade ago when they agreed to the Millennium Development Goals: To halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger by 2015.

The region with the highest share of food insecurity and the lowest rank on agricultural production globally is Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite economic growth in countries such as Angola, Nigeria and Ghana, agriculture is a sector hugely neglected for decades across Africa. Economies of scale hardly exist due to low levels of mechanization, fertilizer use and processing of raw materials. Instead, smallholder farmers are the backbone of the agricultural sector and the backbone of African food security. Yet it is almost impossible for these smallholder farmers to fulfill this role given the virtual absence of market integration and investment from the public and private sectors in rural economies. As a result, 300 million rural people in Africa struggle to feed themselves and their families. Aggravated by the impacts of climate change and increasing foreign investments in arable land neglecting the rights and needs of the poor, the food crisis felt across Africa will grow with every year of inaction.

What are European donors doing to support lasting solutions to the hunger crisis felt in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa? This report provides a mapping and comparison of the policies and activities of the most important European donors addressing food insecurity. Going beyond the European Commission, the study looks at France, Germany and the United Kingdom as well. It seeks to provide a first set of answers on how they could improve their policies and their coordination to develop complementary approaches and thus increase their impact in the fight against hunger in Sub-Saharan Africa. The report is based on a focused review of policy documents, an analysis of financial flows of the main European donors and interviews with donor representatives, scholars and experts from non-governmental organizations.

2 The context of food insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa

Governments of developing countries and the international community are fighting an uphill battle to improve global food security. From the early 1970s until the 2008 food crisis, the absolute number of food insecure people was consistently around 850 million. When food prices spiked in 2008, more than one billion people were counted as food insecure.²

Sub-Saharan Africa is the region most affected by food insecurity. One in four Sub-Saharan Africans is undernourished – 218 million people.³ Seventy-five percent of the world's "ultra-poor," meaning those who live on less than 50 cents per day, live in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁴ This is not only a problem in the country-side but among the growing urban population as well. Without substantial investments, food security in Africa will remain in crisis mode. How did it get this far?

BOX 1: DEFINITIONS

Food security exists "when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life." Food security encompasses:

Food availability: a person has sufficient quantities of food on a consistent basis;

Food access: a person has sufficient resources to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet;

Source: FAO, 2010; WHO, no date

Food use: appropriate use based on knowledge of basic nutrition and care, and adequate water and sanitation.

Food insecurity exists when one or more of these elements are missing.

Hunger or undernourishment exists when caloric intake is below the minimum dietary energy requirement (undernutrition); malnutrition refers to inadequate food intake and when essential vitamins and minerals are not consumed (micronutrient deficiencies).

2.1 A struggling agricultural sector

Food insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa is largely a result of widespread poverty, inefficient agriculture, inefficient markets and inefficient policies addressing these problems. Take the agricultural sector, where smallholder agriculture and rural development in achieving food security is paramount: Agriculture is 30 percent of Africa's gross domestic product and 40 percent of its export value; it provides

- 2 FAO, 2011, pp. 44-47; G8, 2011; FAO, 2011, 'Food price indices data'.
- 3 FAO, 2011 pp. 44-47.
- 4 Shaw, 2009, p. 22; IFAD, 2010.

between 65 and 80 percent of its employment.⁵ Smallholders account for around 80 percent of all agricultural workers, with the same proportion farming on small pieces of land, usually less than two hectares of land each.⁶ Despite their role as the backbone of African food security, many African farmers struggle. They work their land with limited use of agricultural inputs, such as fertilizer and improved seed varieties. Sub-Saharan Africa uses less than ten percent of the world average of fertilizer per hectare and about 18 times less per hectare than Asia.⁷ They also work without modern farming practices and storage facilities to collect their harvests.⁸ A lack of infrastructure and credit makes access and effective participation in local and regional markets difficult, and post-harvest losses are extensive.⁹ In addition, only four percent of arable land is irrigated, with the rest exclusively relying on rainfall.¹⁰ Average grain yields in the region are only around 40 percent compared to developing countries in Asia.¹¹ Together with a growing degradation of land and water resources, agricultural productivity is low.

There are a number of reasons for today's struggling agricultural sector. Unsuccessful government policies as well as the sustained lack of investment and support from national governments, international donors and businesses all play a role. The 2003 Maputo declaration was an important step to reverse decades of neglect, but facts show how little African governments have done to support the agricultural sector since then. A survey commissioned by the African Union in 2007 found that half of the countries that signed the Maputo declaration, promising to invest at least 10 percent of their national expenditure on agricultural development, spent less than 5 percent.¹² Except for a few performers, the majority of African governments have made little progress in the way of public investment for food security. African governments are not alone. Agriculture's share in official development assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa decreased to 3.4 percent in 2006, a tenth of its 1980 share. 13 Agriculture and food security in general were not a priority among donors, who focused on health or education. The top four European donors followed this trend and only recently increased their support to around 13 percent of official development assistance (in 2010). The private sector mirrored the little public investment from national governments and donors. Foreign direct investment to agriculture has been declining for years.¹⁴

```
5 Zimmermann, Brüntrup, Kolavalli, & Flaherty, 2009, p. 34; African Smallholder Farmers Group, 2010, p. 2.
```

- 7 NEPAD, 2011; World Bank, 2008, p. 51.
- 8 GAO, 2008, p. 4.
- 9 World Bank, 2011.
- 10 Zimmermann, et al., 2009, p. 40.
- 11 GAO, 2008, p. 4.
- 12 CAADP, 2009.
- 13 Auer, 2010, p. 11.
- 14 UNCTAD, 2009. This is global data and not specific to Sub-Saharan Africa. A recent change of this trend is the growing acquisition of arable land across Sub-Saharan Africa by foreign investors.

⁶ African Smallholder Farmers Group, 2010; Geoffrey Livingston, Steven Schonberger, & Sara Delaney, 2011, p. 9.

There are other reasons for why rural farmers and the agricultural sector in Africa are constrained in achieving greater food security across the continent. Heavily subsidized agricultural products from developed countries sold in Africa at competitive prices discourage domestic production.¹⁵ Africa imports food products on a large scale, creating little incentive for investment. Africa's share of global cereal imports, for example, is 22 percent, whereas its export share is three percent. 16 Many of the imported goods, including for example rice, maize, sugar and soy beans could be produced locally and compete on world markets if other producers received fewer subsidies.¹⁷ At the same time, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Uganda, among others, are increasingly exporting crops which are mainly processed into bio fuels. On the one hand, this indicates the potential for farming in Africa. On the other, the rising demand for biofuels puts additional pressure on land and water reserves.¹⁸ This, and the increasing acquisition of arable land across Sub-Saharan Africa by foreign investors to grow food for exports also threatens to divert resources and investments from food production, which may be more beneficial to food insecure Africans.

2.2 Two decades of international initiatives on food security

While they have so far failed to effectively address the situation, the international community, African governments and private actors have introduced a number of initiatives to address food insecurity and reverse the dire state of agriculture in Africa over the past two decades.

In 1996 at the World Food Summit, about 180 world leaders pledged to halve hunger by 2015. Four years later, the international community reaffirmed this commitment with the establishment of the UN Millennium Development Goals. One of the primary goals is to halve the proportion of hungry from 1990-92 levels, when 20 percent of the world's population had insufficient access to food. Donors have increasingly aligned their aid activities with the Millennium Development Goals, but the overriding task of halving hunger has not received sufficient funding from the outset.

In 2001, African governments established the New Partnership for Africa's Development to provide a continental framework for economic and social development. One of its key elements is the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme, set up in 2003 to guide policies and investments for agricultural de-

```
15 UNDP, 2005, pp. 30-32.
```

¹⁶ ECOSOC, 2009, p. 15.

¹⁷ Geoffrey Livingston, et al., 2011, p. 6.

¹⁸ The EU for example aims to have at least 10 percent of its combustibles made of biofuels by 2020.

velopment in African countries. These goals were affirmed in 2003 by African governments committing to 10 percent spending on agriculture by 2008 in the Maputo Declaration. To follow up on these ambitious goals, African Union leaders met in Abuja, Nigeria, in 2006 to also commit to improving fertilizer usage in Africa. They set a target of 50 kilograms per hectare by 2015, a significant improvement compared to the current practice at the time. ¹⁹ Unfortunately, progress on the Maputo and Abuja commitments has been patchy at best: In 2008, only around a third of all African countries spent at least 10 percent of their national budget on agriculture. Only 10 out of 42 countries met the agricultural growth target of above 6 percent in 2008. ²⁰ The majority of African countries are far below the targets set in 2003. Average fertilizer use also remains close to the 2006 level. ²¹

In 2006, the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa was launched as an African-led partnership to help small-scale farmers achieve higher agricultural productivity. As a public-private partnership with core funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and the United Kingdom, the alliance seeks to replicate the successes of the Green Revolution, when improved seeds, increased fertilizer use and mechanization led to strong agricultural growth across Asia, by adapting it to the context of African agriculture. Goals set for 2020 are to reduce food insecurity by 50 percent in at least 20 countries, double the incomes of 20 million smallholder families and create a sustained African green revolution in at least 15 countries.

Altogether, these initiatives have led to an increasing awareness of food insecurity and have given new momentum to the political discourse on food security. However, they had too little impact to counteract the dire consequences of rising food prices in 2007 and 2008. The scenes of protestors taking out their anger over high food prices in Cairo, Ouagadougou or Yaoundé in 2008 spurred a rapid succession of new initiatives to address the sudden global increase in hunger and food insecurity.²² Since then, many donors have significantly increased their funding for food security.

In April 2008, the United Nations (UN) established a High-Level Task Force that brought together UN specialized agencies, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, among others. Soon after, the task force endorsed the Comprehensive Framework for Action, a matrix of immediate and long-term responses. These included investing in humanitarian food assistance and safety nets in the short run, and in the long run scaling up investment and improving smallholder access to land, water and inputs.²³ Launched in the same year, the Global Agri-

```
19 World Bank, 2008, p. 51.
```

²⁰ ONE, 2010, p. 33; Omilola, Yade, Karugia, & Chilonda, 2010, p. 34.

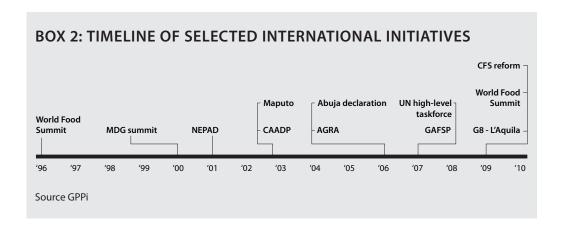
²¹ NEPAD, 2011.

²² Bush, 2010.

²³ Arnold, 2011, p. 9.

culture and Food Security Programme (GAFSP) was the first multilateral initiative after the food price crisis to seek additional private and public sector funds to support country-led initiatives in food security. The financial coordination mechanism hosted by the World Bank was however only established in January 2010.

In July 2009, G8 leaders also met in L'Aquila, Italy, and created the L'Aquila Food Security Initiative. Along with the leaders of 19 other countries and 14 international agencies, the G8 members pledged to spend \$22 billion between 2010 and 2012 on agricultural development and food security.²⁴ That same year, the World Summit on Food Security was held in Rome and specified the way the international community should address global food insecurity. The summit endorsed five key approaches - the "Rome principles" - to address global food insecurity: (1) investment in country-owned plans, (2) strategic coordination to improve governance, (3) a twin-track approach to tackle hunger as well as the root causes of hunger and poverty, (4) a stronger role for the multilateral system, and (5) increased investment in agriculture, food security and nutrition. The summit also revived the Committee on World Food Security, which up until then had been a largely dormant body set up as a result of the food crisis of the 1970s. It is now supposed to play a coordination role, bringing together UN organizations, donors and recipient countries, to address the fragmentation of responses and the lack of global leadership after the food price crisis of 2008.



While these initiatives did little to actually establish a coordinated response among the main donors, the meetings – in particular the L'Aquila initiative – proved instrumental in finally securing increased and additional investments for agriculture and food security from some donors.

3 Ups and downs of international aid to food security

International aid to improve food security has been – on a general level – of little importance to Western donors over the past two decades. According to the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the total global official development assistance to food security peaked in the mid-1980s and plummeted throughout the mid-1990s. Compared to what was spent on official development assistance, aid to food security kept decreasing until 2006, when it made up only 7.3 percent of official development assistance worldwide and only around 9 percent of the overall assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa (see figure 1, next page). This indicates how low a priority food security was for donors. Recent studies assessing the amount of aid to agriculture and food security, mostly on a disaggregated level and with slight variations in measurements, come to the same conclusion: International development assistance targeting food security hit its low point fairly recently and remains in a precarious state today. Each of the overall assistance to the same conclusion: International development assistance targeting food security hit its low point fairly recently and remains in a precarious state today.

BOX 3: HOW WE MEASURE AID TO FOOD SECURITY

We define aid to food security in a broad sense. It consists of short-term policy objectives (relief aid) as well as long-term policy objectives (development aid). It also includes contributions to improve rural livelihoods.

In terms of the OECD Creditor Reporting System (CRS), we can group the CRS codes according to our analytical categories of relief and development aid.

Relief aid is covered by two codes: Food aid/food security programs (52010) and emergency food aid (72040) refer to the supply (and distribution) of cash or food to the population, in non-emergencies and emergencies respectively.

Development aid, on the other hand, addresses long-term policy objectives and includes agriculture (31110-31195), forestry (31210-31291), fishing (31310-31391) and rural development (43040).

26

There are a number of problems related to the OECD data:

Donors have different internal coding systems and thus report differently to CRS codes. This may make the comparability of data difficult.

The agricultural aid category alone does not capture the entirety of aid to food security.

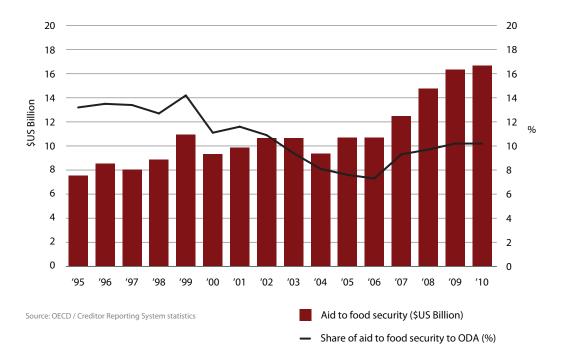
Donors often code their food security related assistance in multi-sectoral categories, such as financial services, small- and medium-sized enterprise development or community participation and governance.

We have no information on the quality of aid and how it is actually used; for example, there is no differentiation between aid to smallholder farmers and to large-scale agro industries.

Notes: (1) Our statistics rely on data available from the OECD in February 2012, unless otherwise referenced. Values are shown in constant prices 2009 US\$. Due to the relative scarcity of data on disbursements, figures are shown as commitments, unless otherwise specified. (2) See Annex B for more details on the CRS codes. Data for CRS/DAC was downloaded from OECD's website and was available for the time period from 1995 to 2010. The data was last updated on 8 February 2012.

²⁵ Global refers to all donors that are included in the OECD CRS/DAC database; that is multilateral, bilateral and private ODA. OECD, 2010.

FIGURE 1: GLOBAL AID TO FOOD SECURITY IN ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE TERMS



Official development assistance targeting Sub-Saharan Africa displays similar tendencies. Aid to food security rose until the 1980s and represented an important part of the aid mix. The Asian Green Revolution of the 1960s and 70s produced very positive results by channeling agricultural aid and technology through the public sector. Donors sought to replicate this model focusing on improved seeds and irrigation and greater use of fertilizers and pesticides in all developing countries.²⁷ Moreover, a large portion of aid to food security to Sub-Saharan Africa came in the form of in-kind food aid, which was the preferred way for the US and European countries to deal with food insecurity – and also the preferred way of disposing of agricultural surpluses produced at home.²⁸

But from the 1980s onwards, aid statistics highlight a substantial decline in development assistance channeled to food security. There was a decline in aid to improve food security in Africa in absolute terms until the 1990s and until 2006 relative to the overall aid volumes. This is the result of a number of factors:

Criticism of in-kind food aid, particularly in Europe, as an important part
of development aid led to reforms and a phasing out of food aid sourced

Success was most visible in Asian high productivity areas. Research institutions developed more than 500 new varieties of grain. These increased average yields by 75 percent since 1970. DFID, 2004, p. 18; Hazell. 2009.

²⁸ Global Donor Platform for Rural Development, 2011a, p. 18.

from European markets.²⁹ This reformed approach reduced donor countries' commitments to help poor countries, and the available budgets were reduced without being offset by new and more effective measures to address food insecurity. The share of food aid within official development assistance went from around 10 percent in the mid-1970s to about 3-4 percent since the early 90s.³⁰

- In the 1980s, frustration grew as the Green Revolution failed to work in Africa, meaning that donors became reluctant to follow this scheme. This tendency was accompanied by a new, market-centered view on agricultural development, which addressed food insecurity by reforming and reducing the role of the public sector in agriculture and instead encouraging the private sector to drive direct investment. There was a general loss of confidence among donors, who started to question whether government-driven development could produce tangible results. The development paradigm of getting the markets right prevailed at that time.
- At the same time, significantly more donor attention was paid to social infrastructure and services, such as education and health care. Donors realized that aiding these sectors has several benefits vis-à-vis agriculture. It delivers more tangible and direct results by covering basic needs. Agricultural aid, by contrast, may take many years to show effects. There was also a belief that agricultural problems can be better addressed outside the sector by increasing spending on areas such as transport, infrastructure or trade, which in turn were viewed to have an indirect influence on food security.³³
- This turn away from the agricultural sector was also driven by the unsatisfactory experience of managing agricultural aid. Donor support to agriculture almost always goes to the state, yet the state has a different and smaller role in agriculture than in other sectors, such as health or education. It is also difficult to properly allocate aid, because key investments and services for agriculture may also be provided by other ministries such as finance or transportation, which also tend to be more powerful ministries in many African countries. Agriculture sector programs, frequently managed only by ministries of agriculture, "often leave out critical areas for agricultural development."³⁴

```
29 Barrett, Binder, & Steets, 2012; Cathie, 1997.
```

³⁰ Barrett & Maxwell, 2005, p. 7.

³¹ Hazell, 2002, p. 3.

³² DFID, 2004, pp. 15-19.

³³ Cabral, 2007, p. 2.

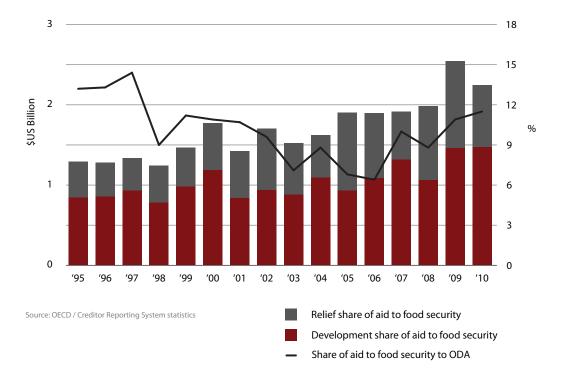
³⁴ Cabral, 2009, pp. 6-7.

All this was combined with a long period of cheap world prices for agricultural products. Heavily subsidized farming in developed countries made it economically unviable for many African countries to invest in agriculture. Importing food was much cheaper.

Despite all these problems, the region saw slowly increasing donor commitments and more international development assistance to improve food security in Sub-Saharan Africa. Since the mid-1990s, a growing awareness has taken root among donors that food security, agricultural growth, rural development and the reduction of poverty require more investment and financial support. Donors acknowledged that without more action, the first Millennium Development Goal of halving hunger could not be met. Official development assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa almost doubled from 1995 to 2010 and Europeans contributed around 45 percent of the overall aid to food security given to the region from 1995 to 2010.

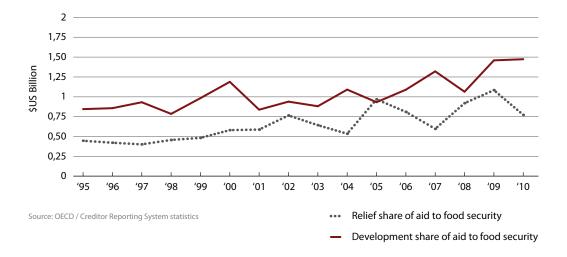
In absolute terms, the funds that European donors provided to the region have slowly grown since 1995, peaking at over \$2.5 billion in 2009 but dropping again in 2010 to \$2.2 billion. Generally, these increases largely reflect increasing overall development assistance. More aid to Africa meant an increase in aid to food security as well. However, the increase in aid to food security was not proportional to overall aid volumes. Only since 2006 has the share of European aid to food security to Sub-Saharan Africa increased in relation to total official development assistance. Prior to this recent rise, food security had the same, low priority for European donors as for the rest of the donors providing assistance (figure 2).

FIGURE 2: EUROPEAN AID TO FOOD SECURITY TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA IN ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE TERMS



The food price crisis on 2007 and 2008 changed this. The main European donors - the European Commission, Germany, France and the United Kingdom - increased their food security budgets for Sub-Saharan Africa by around \$350 million between 2008 and 2009. The G8 summit in L'Aquila and the joint Declaration on Global Food Security further increased the momentum on funding for food security among most European donors. The increasing European aid to food security and its growing share of official development assistance can also be attributed to the international trend of massively increasing relief aid. 35 Humanitarian food assistance from Europe has more than doubled from about \$450 million in 1995 to close to \$1.1 billion in 2009. This was however followed by a drop in 2010 to around \$770 million (figure 3). Relief aid comes mostly from the European Commission – on average around half of all the short-term aid to food security from 1995 to 2010 came from the commission alone. This is at first a puzzling development, since the European Commission and many European countries decided in the mid-90s that food aid programs that directly supply cash or food to the population should be reserved for emergency situations, since they address only the symptoms and not the causes of food insecurity. But the growing share of relief aid can be attributed to more donor activities in failed Sub-Saharan countries such as Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo or Zimbabwe, where long-term development assistance has been scaled back due to local conflicts, weak government structures incapable of handling aid and hesitation among donors to invest in areas with little assurance of success. In turn, the need for relief aid has significantly increased, and donors are responding accordingly.

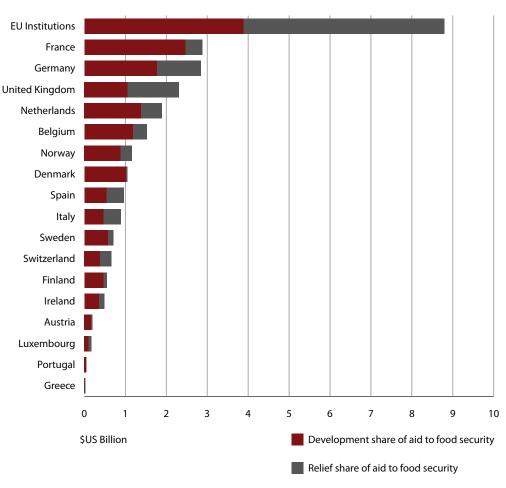
FIGURE 3: VOLUME OF EUROPEAN LONG- AND SHORT-TERM AID TO FOOD SECURITY TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA



4 An analysis of the policy and practice of selected European donors

In terms of volume, from 1995 to 2010 the European Commission, France, Germany and the United Kingdom were the biggest providers of aid to food security to Sub-Saharan Africa (figure 4). The following review looks in more detail at their policies and priorities.

FIGURE 4: TOTAL AID TO FOOD SECURITY TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA BY EUROPEAN DONOR, 1995 – 2010



Source: OECD / Creditor Reporting System statistics

4.1 The European Commission

The European Commission has considerably increased its portfolio of activities and funds to address food insecurity in developing countries over the past few years. A recent proposal for a new overall development strategy for the European Union, presented in October 2011 as Agenda for Change, stipulates an increased focus on sustainable agriculture as one of three priority areas of a future EU development policy.³⁶

4.1.1 The institutional setup

Since the 1960s, the European Commission has provided aid to food security through technical cooperation with developing countries and increasingly via food aid, giving away farm surpluses produced in Europe. In recent years, from 1996 to 2006, a single Food Security and Food Aid budget line became the new instrument to deliver EU aid to food security alongside country specific agricultural programs. The new budget line paid for both short and long-term activities and was managed by the commission's development directorate. The focus was on in-kind food aid in response to emergency situations, which took up about two-thirds of the available resources of the budget line.³⁷ Since 2007, aid to food security has become more diversified, and funds have increased considerably. The commission split its combined food aid and food security budget according to policy, budget and administration, and between short and long term aid. This division has been characteristic of the commission's approach to aid to food security since then.

The term food assistance, which the commission coined to describe the distribution of in-kind food aid, cash or vouchers in emergency situations, is now managed by the Humanitarian Aid Office of the European Commission. The development directorate, on the other hand, kept its food security portfolio, which includes all long-term and non-emergency activities addressing food-insecurity. The Directorate-General for Development and Cooperation (DG DEVCO) is responsible for food security policy and strategy, allocation of funds and coordination with recipients and European and international donors.³⁸ DG DEVCO's work on food security can best be understood by the differentiation between its "geographical programs," with a clear country focus, and its "thematic programs," which work together with international organizations as partners or address food insecuri-

- 36 European Commission, 2011c.
- 37 Mathys, Gaus, & Steets, 2012.
- 38 Beyond the major political guidance, the European External Action Service seems to have only a limited role in food security policy and delivery in the future, but the exact role of DG DEVCO and the EEAS in the development and management of EC support to food security remains to be finalized following the restructuring of these two directorates in the first half of 2011.

ty in countries not covered by the geographical programs. Different units are responsible for these programs: The geographical units that work through the European Commission delegations in country and the unit on rural development, food security and nutrition.

4.1.2 Food security policies

The division between long- and short-term aid is further reflected in a clear separation of policies. In 2010, the commission simultaneously released both its new humanitarian food assistance policy and a separate "EU policy framework to assist developing countries in addressing food security challenges." Together, they make up the EU's policy on addressing food insecurity. In terms of content, the humanitarian food assistance policy clearly states that food assistance is only to be used in emergencies. It aims at ensuring food availability, access to nutritious food, proper nutrition awareness and appropriate feeding practices through the direct provision of food, cash or vouchers, skills or knowledge depending on the context. As a matter of principle, humanitarian food assistance is not to be used to respond to chronic food insecurity, except "where non-intervention poses immediate or imminent humanitarian risk of significant scale and severity; where other more appropriate actors, including its own development instruments, are either unable or unwilling to act, and cannot be persuaded to act."³⁹

Complementing this, the 2010 EU policy framework on food security focuses on sustainable small-scale food production and sets out four priorities: (1) improve smallholder resilience and rural livelihoods, (2) support governance mechanisms that address food insecurity, (3) support regional agriculture and food security policies, and (4) strengthen assistance mechanisms for vulnerable population groups. Openition groups food insecurity needs in fragile states. Nutrition, a key element of food security, is not yet featured as a priority in the current food security policy, but will most likely receive more attention in the coming years from the EU. A nutrition policy is currently under development. Also in the making are new guidance documents on the role of social safety nets in food security and a policy to improve the linkages between short and long term assistance.

In addition, the commission has a separate policy on agriculture, clarifying the principles and key areas for cooperation in the agricultural sector. Released in 2007, the policy Advancing African Agriculture focuses on the regional and con-

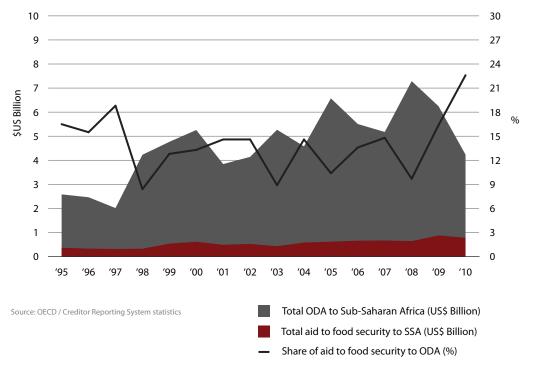
- 39 European Commission, 2011b, p. 8.
- 40 European Commission, 2011a.
- 41 EU official, September 2011; existing since September 2011 is a reference document on nutrition which provides a detailed description of how nutrition can and should be integrated in the design of EU aid programs.
- 42 EU official, September 2011.

tinental level; it particularly relates the EU agricultural policy to the processes of the African Union and the African priorities reflected in the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP), developed in 2003. Cooperation at this level is set to complement development assistance at the national level, where the EU continues to have the closest cooperation.

4.1.3 Financing aid to food security

In 2010, the commission reported that aid addressing food insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa amounted to \$781 million, more than three times higher than the second biggest donor from Europe that year, Germany. In nominal terms, aid to food security has increased steadily from \$366 million in 1995 to \$881 million in 2009 while dropping again by around \$100 million in 2010. Aid to food security also represents a considerable part of the aid portfolio budget for Sub-Saharan Africa by the commission. It made up about 22 percent of the overall development assistance channeled to Sub-Saharan Africa in 2010 – above previous years, where the share fluctuated between 8 percent and 14 percent (figure 5).

FIGURE 5: EUROPEAN COMMISSION – OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND AID TO FOOD SECURITY TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

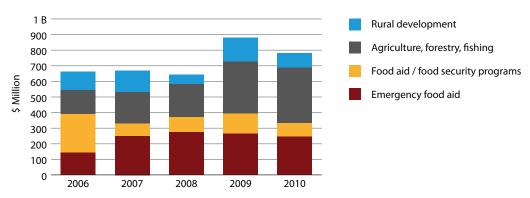


The European Commission provides its aid exclusively through grants. Even though the European Development Bank, which is part of the European Union but outside the reach of the commission, may also provide loans at preferential rates to developing countries or local businesses, it does not do so at the moment. According to their own records, the bank only financed around \$17 million (€12

million) out of a total sector budget of \$2 billion (€1.4 billion) to projects in Sub-Saharan Africa; this money was related to agriculture, fishery or forestry between 2006 and 2011.⁴³ In general, the European Union provides only very few loans in the area of food security.

Between 1995 and 2010, the European Commission funded on average around \$307 million worth of short-term aid to food insecurity. Funding in this area has steadily increased, and it made up about 42 percent of the overall EU aid to food security in 2010. The larger share of aid to food security towards Sub-Saharan Africa, however, remains dedicated to rural and agricultural development. Funds are coming from two sources. One is the European Development Fund, a specific fund replenished by EU member states and managed by the commission, but outside of the regular commission budget. The second is through the Food Security Thematic Programme, which is part of the regular commission budget and allocated about \$1.3 billion (€925 million) between 2007 and 2011, its first funding phase. The program funds the transition from relief, rehabilitation, and development in countries phasing out humanitarian assistance; it provides support for agricultural research and information systems, and funds regional approaches to improve food security.⁴⁴ In response to the global food price crisis in 2007, the commission also established a one-off facility with additional resources to address food insecurity in developing countries. The soon-to-be-finished Food Facility has a budget of \$1.4 billion (€1 billion) to support around 50 recipient countries until 2012 to increase food security. The funds were either allocated to international organizations, solicited proposals or budget support in selected countries.

FIGURE 6: EUROPEAN COMMISSION – BREAKDOWN OF AID TO FOOD SECURITY (BY OECD CATEGORIES)



Source: OECD / Creditor Reporting System statistics

According to the most recent data available, in 2010 the commission spent the most money in the category of agriculture, fisheries and forestry (figure 6). Given the diverse sources of funding through thematic of country specific programs

⁴³ EIB, 2011.

⁴⁴ Mathys, et al., 2011.

and the breadth of its approaches to food insecurity, the European Commission almost funds all areas within the agricultural category – in contrast to the other reviewed donors, who usually have narrowed down their spending to a few specific sub-areas in that category. Exceptions to the general funding from the commission include agricultural inputs and agricultural research, which receive comparatively little support from the European Commission.⁴⁵

4.2 France

Between 1995 and 2010, France was the biggest national European donor of aid to food security in Sub-Saharan Africa. Its institutions, policies and funding for food security therefore merit a closer look.

4.2.1 Institutions

France delivers its official development assistance and its aid to food security through a number of channels, involving several ministries and government agencies. The Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (Ministère des affaires étrangères et européennes) officially heads France's bilateral and multilateral development assistance and its humanitarian aid programs. The ministry is responsible for responding to humanitarian crises and disasters by providing food assistance. In addition, its food security and economic development department are responsible for defining strategies and policies for food security and coordinating French activities at the multilateral level. It also directs the French Development Agency, the country's central implementing agency. The development agency spent around three percent of its budget on agriculture and food security in 2010 with a strong focus on bilateral aid. Almost always in the form of loans, about three quarters of the budget was given directly to France's partner countries.

In addition to these measures taken by the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs and the French Development Agency, the French Ministry of Higher Education and Research also allocates aid to agriculture, in this case through supporting agricultural research institutes. The foremost recipient in this area is the "Centre de coopération internationale en recherche agronomique pour le développement" (CIRAD), a French-led research institute operating in more than 90 countries. The institute provides advice on food security policies, such as food price volatility and bioenergy and does hands-on research, for example on plant breeding, animal diseases or water and soil management in agriculture.

4.2.2 Food security policies

France provides aid to food security both as relief aid and as development aid. Relief aid is currently guided by a specific food assistance policy developed in 2005. A substantive reform that year led to a focus on Sub-Saharan Africa as the main recipient of food assistance, on the use of cash transfers as well as on the purchase of local food. France mostly relies on the World Food Programme, the International Red Cross and the Red Crescent Movement and to a lesser extent on NGOs and recipient countries to distribute its food assistance in emergencies.⁴⁷

Development aid is shaped by a different set of policies. An Interministerial Committee for Cooperation and Development (Comité interministériel de la coopération et du développement) adopted a new agriculture and food security policy in 2005, which remains the guiding document for French aid to food security to date. 48 The policy acknowledged a sharp decline in French aid to food security, much more drastic compared to other major donors, and highlighted a gap between official statements endorsing the Millennium Development Goals and actual practice of supporting food insecure people. This was the starting point for a renewed focus on aid to food security and a call for an increase in resources. Focusing on African countries and what France calls its "zone de solidarité prioritaire,"49 the policy has two central priorities. One is to concentrate on smallholders, as they are most affected by food insecurity. The second is to reduce the vulnerability of rural populations through local investment as well as improved production, market conditions and agricultural policies. This is further refined by a sector strategy on rural and agricultural development from the French Development Agency.⁵⁰ Beyond these priorities of supporting small-scale farming and rural development, a specific focus of French aid to food security is its support of agricultural research. France has a longstanding commitment to agricultural research and is, according to a recent report, "perhaps the only or one of the only OECD countries to support a public research capacity dedicated exclusively to these activities."51 The exact research agenda is defined by the research institute itself.

France has also made strong commitments to developing an international response to global food insecurity. France for example proposed in 2008 the Global Partnership for Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition, which remains a "stra-

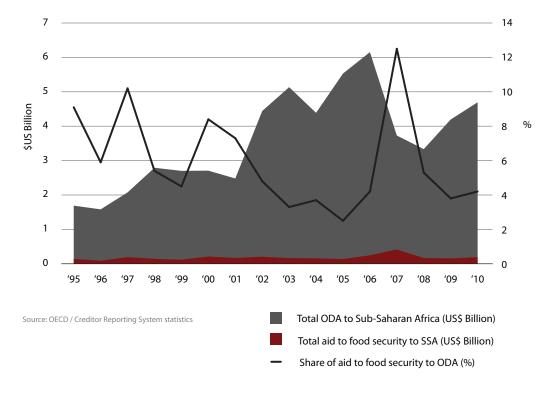
- French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs, 2008.
- 48 CICAD, 2005.
- The "Zone de solidarité prioritaire" is defined by the French government since 1998 as a set of countries where development assistance is most likely be successful. These are LDC countries with which France has a traditional partnership.
- 50 AFD, 2010.
- 51 Imperial College London, 2011.

tegic priority for France."⁵² France also put food security on the agenda during its G20 presidency in 2011 and made the mitigation of food price volatility a priority of its term. Consolidating agricultural research on an international scale, France also hosted the first G20 Conference on Agricultural Research for Development in September 2011.

4.2.3 Financing aid to food security

Despite its prominent place among the top four European donors between 1995 and 2010, France's support for food security fluctuates considerably. In 2010, France only ranked fourth among the European donors, with a total aid to food security budget of about \$190 million for Sub-Saharan Africa. Even though this is a slight increase from the previous year, France's 2010 food security budget remains below its average contribution of around \$180 million over the past 15 years and continues to contradict its own commitment to "reverse the downward trend in financing for food security." France also expends a relatively low share of its overall development assistance on food security: On average about 6 percent over the last 16 years, fluctuating between lows of 2.5 percent in 2005 and highs of 12.5 percent in 2007 (figure 7).

FIGURE 7: FRANCE – OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND AID TO FOOD SECURITY TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA



G20-G8 France 2011, 2011.

52

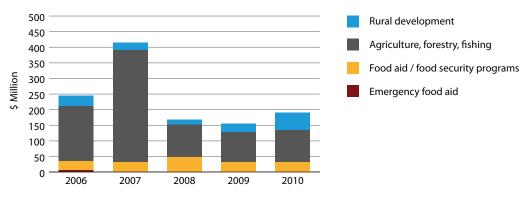
53

G20-G8 France 2011. This has already been mentioned in an independent evaluation as a serious problem.

There are a number of reasons for these patterns. France has smaller volumes of aid to food security than other European donors because of a reduction in humanitarian assistance funding. France traditionally concentrates a small percentage of its total development assistance on humanitarian assistance and has considerably reduced its contribution in recent years. This has led to a much smaller share of relief aid compared to the portfolios of other European donors, with a budget of around \$26 million per year on average from 1995 to 2010. Within that category, almost all funds went to food security programs, i.e. cash-for-work programs, seeds and tools and similar interventions. Direct in-kind hand-outs (labelled "emergency food aid" by the OECD), by contrast, received virtually no funding with the exception of the years 2004-2006. This is according to France's own reporting to the OECD.

Instead, long-term development assistance makes up the lion's share of France's food security activities (figure 8). The agriculture, forestry and fishing component is the largest part of France food security portfolio and combines many practices, from supporting agricultural policy to the provision of agricultural inputs or providing agricultural education.⁵⁴ It also includes France's support to agricultural research, by far France's single biggest budget item in the agriculture, forestry and fisheries category. France spent the exceptional amount of \$298 million on agricultural research in Sub-Saharan Africa in 2007, but figures dropped again to \$30 million in 2008 and \$18 million in 2010.

FIGURE 8: FRANCE – BREAKDOWN OF AID TO FOOD SECURITY (BY OECD CATEGORIES)



Source: OECD / Creditor Reporting System statistics

With most aid provided bilaterally, 70 percent of the funds on agriculture and rural development between 2003 and 2009 went to Benin, Burkina-Faso, Central African Republic, Comoros, Chad, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Guiney, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Togo. 55 France has strong historical ties with these countries and considers poor countries to be of special

See Annex B for a full description of the different categories.

priority.⁵⁶ However, a large share of French aid is given in the form of loans and France's lending capacity to these countries is restricted. The recipient countries must request loans in the first place and France also has to follow international safeguards when giving further loans to already highly indebted poor countries.

4.3 Germany

Germany is another key European donor given its long donor history and its increasing priority of addressing food insecurity in developing countries. The current government made agricultural and rural development a key element of German development policy during its four year mandate starting in 2009. ⁵⁷ According to statistics on aid provided to Sub-Saharan Africa between 1995 and 2010, Germany ranks third behind the European Commission and France.

4.3.1 Institutions

The German system is similar to the French, with national ministries and government-owned implementing agencies sharing the responsibilities of planning, managing, coordinating and delivering aid to food security. Following a reform in fall 2011, the Federal Foreign Office is responsible for emergency and transitional aid, whereas the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) is the lead institution for all other forms of official German development assistance.58 With this reform, a new unit within the foreign office's humanitarian aid department will be responsible for delivering food assistance with both short-term and medium-term focus and specific activities to improve linkages between humanitarian assistance and development assistance. The BMZ and its division for Rural Development and World Food Security, on the other hand, deal with the non-emergency side of food assistance and are responsible for supporting agricultural and rural development. In addition, geographical directorates are responsible for food security activities within their respective regions. In October 2011, Germany established a new task force on food security to better coordinate the activities on food security, which are now spread between the foreign office and the development ministry.

Next to the Federal Foreign Office and the BMZ, the Federal Ministry for Food, Agriculture and Consumer Rights offers advice to the governments of partner countries with regards to the agri-food sector and consumer protection through its bilateral cooperative program. Very small compared to the foreign office and BMZ portfolios, it also organizes consulting and vocational training activities

⁵⁶ Sénat, no date.

⁵⁷ CDU, CSU, & FDP, 2009.

⁵⁸ BMZ, 2011b.

focusing on individual farms in developing countries. Even though one project in Ethiopia is included, the program mainly targets Central and Eastern European countries.⁵⁹

Because the German ministries do not implement projects themselves, either government-owned institutions or NGOs operate as intermediaries for the detailed programming and implementation of government policies within partner countries. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) is the primary recipient of federal money allocated to implement the technical cooperation related to food security. Since Germany also provides a substantial share of its development assistance in the form of loans, export credits and preferential financing, the government-owned development bank Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KFW) and its subsidiaries finance, advise and direct food security projects. Food security is not among KFW's 11 priority sectors, but the bank nonetheless runs a number of projects related to rural and agricultural development. This includes financing irrigation projects, increasing agricultural production and improving farming methods; it also includes environmental and forestry programs as well as infrastructure and microfinancing. 60 However, a recent report has indicated, that these activities have not significantly changed over the last 30 years, either in volume or substance, despite changes in the coding and labelling of support to the sector.⁶¹

4.3.2 Food security policies

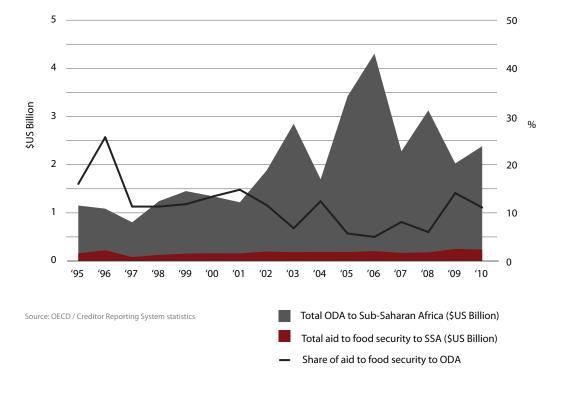
To contribute to food security, Germany strongly focuses on smallholder agriculture and rural development. The BMZ released a new food security and rural development policy called Rural Development and its Contribution to Food Security in March 2011, which examines four main topics: agriculture, natural resources, social infrastructure and institutions and policy. The new BMZ policy promotes funding at the country level to encourage increased agricultural productivity among smallholder farmers, rural infrastructure development and climate change adaptation. Furthermore, the BMZ supports agricultural policy reforms with a view to giving small farmers easier access to land, water, loans, markets and extension services. Further sectoral concepts – related to agriculture, in particular – are currently being developed and will provide more details on how Germany seeks to support smallholder agriculture. A specific policy on food assistance does not currently exist.

- 59 BMELV, 2009.
- 60 Each regional program has instead a "green" desk, where agriculture s projects are managed.
- 61 Global Donor Platform for Rural Development, 2011b.
- 62 BMZ, 2011a.

4.3.3 Financing aid to food security

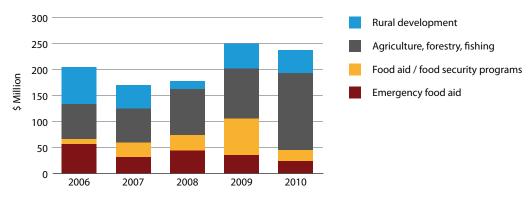
German aid to food security has risen gradually in nominal terms since 2001 but remains lower than the average level of support between 1973 and 1990. In 2010, Germany spent close to \$237 million on food security activities in Sub-Saharan Africa – a slight drop from the previous years \$249 million. Looking at the relative weight of the sector in relation to total German aid to Sub-Saharan Africa, aid to food security actually declined until the 2009 increase. It declined significantly from around 16 percent share of total official development assistance in 1995 to about 6 percent share in 2008 – a decline which is more pronounced than the other European donors under review (the aggregated share of aid to food security from the EC, France and UK declined from around 14 percent to 10 percent between 1995 and 2008). While Germany thus increased its overall volume of development assistance, aid to food security did not move up proportionally. The recent rise to around 11 percent (2010) in share has more to do with the overall fluctuations of official development assistance to sub-Saharan Africa than with a genuine focus on food security (figure 9).

FIGURE 9: GERMANY – OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND AID TO FOOD SECURITY TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA



German aid to food security is spent both as relief aid and as development aid. Germany has allocated on average around one-third of its aid to food security in Sub-Saharan Africa as humanitarian and short-term assistance between 1995 and 2010. This share increased from 2008 onwards and made up around 42 percent of the German aid to food security portfolio in 2009 while dropping markedly to around 19 percent in 2010 (figure 10).

FIGURE 10: GERMANY – BREAKDOWN OF AID TO FOOD SECURITY (BY OECD CATEGORIES)



Source: OECD / Creditor Reporting System statistics

Within its development aid, Germany focuses most of its resources for agriculture, forestry and fisheries on individual agricultural development and forestry projects. A much smaller share is set aside to support large agricultural sector programs, agricultural ministries and institutional capacity building and advice. These are mainly financed through budget support, but this particular way of delivering aid is a contentious issue among the German aid community and has been under much scrutiny from official auditors and the German parliament, which has led to a reduction in its use. Other trends worth noting in German funding levels are the virtual disappearance of aid to agricultural production and to agricultural inputs. Projects addressing irrigation and soil degradation are, by contrast, increasingly important for German aid to food security. According to a 2010 study from the Imperial College in London, the main recipients of German aid to agriculture in 2007 were Ethiopia, Kenya, Mali, Burkina Faso and Ghana.

4.4 United Kingdom

The United Kingdom is another crucial European provider of aid to food security, but is not as prominent as the other top European donors reviewed so far. In terms of volume, the UK ranks fourth in aid to food security in Sub-Saharan Af-

⁶⁴ Hearn, et al., 2010, p. 12.

⁶⁵ See for example BMZ, 2008 and Leiderer, 2010.

⁶⁶ Hearn, et al., 2010, p. 12.

rica from 1995 to 2010. This has attracted criticism from the UK's political class, who in 2008 argued that the UK had "neglected agriculture for many years" and was failing to improve on its recent record.⁶⁷

4.4.1 Institutions

In the UK, virtually all official development assistance is organized and disbursed by the Department for International Development (DFID). With general guidance from the UK Cabinet Office, which has a specific Cabinet Committee on food, both the policy directives and funds for food security come under the direction of DFID. The UK restructured DFID in early 2011 and established a new team that deals with developing policies on nutrition and food security. This new unit replaced the Food and Agriculture Group, which was formally established to lead and coordinate DFID-wide response to the food crisis in 2008. Aid is distributed by the Country Programmes Directorate and its geographic divisions, which are responsible for a region or a specific country receiving aid to food security. Short-term aid to food security is part of the UK's humanitarian assistance portfolio and is also managed by DFID. Here, the main channels for delivering food aid for the UK are UN organizations and in particular the World Food Programme.

Aid in the form of financial cooperation not directly targeted at governments – in particular preferential loans or fund-of-funds investments – is channelled through the Commonwealth Development Corporation, a UK government-owned development finance institution, which has DFID as its only shareholder. Under the new 2011 investment policy, all of the Development Corporation's new commitments will be in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia. Investments in agriculture are currently picking up through these schemes. The UK is for example a key proponent of the \$120 million Africa Enterprise Challenge Fund, which supports businesses working in agriculture, financial services and renewable energy and which is a special partnership initiative of the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA).

4.4.2 Food security policies

Historically, DFID directed a large proportion of its budget towards developing agriculture. After African states gained independence, the UK employed a large cadre of agricultural advisers who contributed to individual farming projects, the development of technology and research and financial investment in agriculture.

All Parliamentary Party Group on Agriculture and Food for Development recommended that the UK: devote 10 percent of ODA to food security and sustainable agriculture; improve agricultural education and link UK universities and the global south; move to end trade distorting subsidies; and subsidize fertilizers.

This fit the general rhetoric of emphasizing agricultural growth to improve access to food and economic conditions. Since the mid-1990s, however, DFID has focused on a broader approach to poverty reduction. DFID has concentrated on improving the societal and market structures in which agriculture operates and develops, rather than improving agriculture itself.

This general move away from directly supporting the agricultural sector has changed again in recent years, in line with the general consensus among Western donors to focus more on pro-poor development policies. This has led to a wealth of new policy documents and ongoing discussions about the best way forward:

- In 2005 DFID released the policy paper Growth and poverty reduction: the role of agriculture. At its center, the paper focused on agricultural productivity and growth, aiming to achieve improvements through the increase of incomes and supply, and the improvement of technology and sector linkages. It prioritized agricultural development in countries where significant production gains were possible.⁶⁸
- A 2009 review questioned the validity of this policy in light of the food price crisis. It suggested that while other international policies on food security were focusing on the development of smallholder agriculture, UK policy emphasized production and productivity rather than smallholders and access to food.⁶⁹
- Later in 2009, DFID released another international development white paper titled Eliminating world poverty: building our common future. Its main vision was to double agricultural production in Africa over the next 20 years in ways that would manage natural resources sustainably and counter the effects of climate change. It also looked to water and nutrient efficiency, building international partnerships through the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) and reforming European agricultural subsidies.
- The last policy on food security came in 2010, when DFID and the UK's agricultural department introduced a joint policy on food security and sustainable agriculture. A central objective of the policy was doubling agricultural production in Africa over the next 20 years. In its aim to improve food security in Africa where it recognizes a problem of access to food the departments propose to boost growth by creating a network of African centers of excellence to share policy expertise on sustainable agricultural development. An additional theme was the intention to work closely with international partners such as the G8, G20 and the relevant UN fora.

The multitude of UK policies on aid to food security shows that many things are currently in flux, and that it is difficult to point to a specific approach that DFID favors. In general, the UK concentrates on multi-sectoral aid rather than sector specific agricultural aid. The UK also focuses broadly on supporting economic growth rather than individual small-scale farmers. The latest department-wide DFID policy framework labels wealth creation, MDG-delivery, governance and security, climate change and humanitarian assistance as the UK's "Five Priority Pillars" for development. Programs on agriculture and food security are therefore aimed at meeting the pillar targets and can be found in various subsectors of overall policy, such as emergency relief, welfare and rural socio-economic development. Within this approach, nutrition assumes an increasingly prominent place, and the UK decided in April 2011 to support 20 countries through the Scaling Up Nutrition initiative.

4.4.3 Financing aid to food security

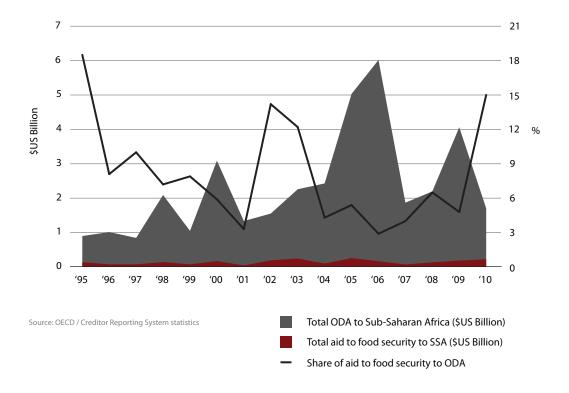
Since agriculture has slipped from being a central tenet of UK development policy to being applied in varying degrees to the wider social sectors, it has become much more difficult to trace how much the UK spends on agriculture and food security activities. Using the available and self-reported data from the OECD on aid to food security, two patterns can be identified. The first is that overall agricultural spending decreased dramatically from the start of the 2000s while gradually recovering after the food price crisis in 2008. An internal investigation in 2006 reported a "real terms decline" in the UK's agricultural spending.⁷² The second pattern concerns UK aid to Sub-Saharan Africa, where aid to food security in absolute terms fluctuated between 1995 and 2010, with a low of about \$43 million spent in 2001 and a high of about \$260 million in 2005. Since 2007, the budget has however tripled from around \$70 million to around \$222 million in 2010. On average, aid to food security is worth around \$143 million per year. As a proportion of the total aid budget earmarked for Sub-Saharan Africa, aid to food security has declined significantly until 2009. The proportion has dropped from 18.5 percent in 1995 to 4.8 percent in 2009, with a record low of 2.9 percent of the overall budget in 2006. In 2010, this increased again to 15 percent. As already seen with the other donors reviewed, while the fluctuating share is strongly linked to fluctuating official development assistance figures, the gradual increase in absolute terms between 2007-2010 shows that agriculture and food security in Sub-Saharan Africa are increasingly a priority for DFID (figure 11, next page).

To emphasize how food security is assumed into this structure, the area of developmental food aid/food security assistance is a 'non sector' according to the latest Annual Report (FY2010-2011).

⁷¹ DFID, 2011.

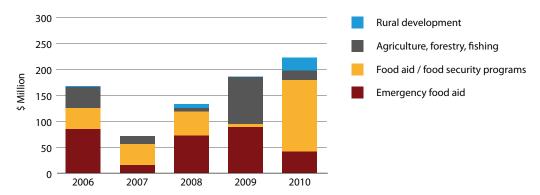
⁷² Global Donor Platform for Rural Development, 2011c, p. 4.

FIGURE 11: UNITED KINGDOM – OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND AID TO FOOD SECURITY TO SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA



Even more interesting is the breakdown of aid to food security between relief aid and development aid. Traditionally, the UK is an important provider of humanitarian assistance. This is strongly reflected in the way DFID provides aid to food security. DFID puts much more emphasis than its fellow European donors on addressing food insecurity through short-term measures. In 2006 to 2008, the UK gave around five times as much for food aid as it did for rural and agricultural development. In 2009, though, the UK's food aid and short-term food security programs accounted for around \$95 million compared to \$91 million for long-term measures – almost an even share between the two categories. The latest available figures suggest, however, a reversal towards the old pattern of providing largely short-term aid. In 2010, around three-quarters of the budget was spent on emergency food aid and food security programs (figure 12, next page).

FIGURE 12: UNITED KINGDOM - BREAKDOWN OF AID TO FOOD SECURITY (BY OECD CATEGORIES)



Source: OECD / Creditor Reporting System statistics

Regarding its declining funding for long-term rural and agricultural development, the UK has gone in the opposite direction of Germany and mainly provided support to large agricultural sector programs, agricultural ministries and institutional capacity building and advice. The UK strongly favors budget support over individual projects and is one of the leading donors providing aid through recipient government managed funds. The UK nonetheless also provides support to the agricultural production category, both food crop and export crop production and livestock husbandry. Agricultural research, featured prominently in France and the European Commission, receives however virtually no funding at all. The main recipients of UK support to agriculture in 2007 were Malawi, Ghana, Rwanda, Nigeria and Kenya.

4.5 Common patterns among European food security donors

The individual mapping of the key European food security donors reveals a number of common patterns and diverging priorities. A common ground for European donor is their shared definition of food security, built on the three pillars of food availability, food access and food use. This definition of what is needed to achieve food security reflects the international community's consensus established at the World Food Summit of 1996. But the four top European donors have much more common ground than a simple definition.

- They share the view that support to food security continues to play an important role in reducing the number of hungry across Africa and fighting poverty and that long-term investments in the agricultural sector are nec-
- 74 UKAN, no date.
- 75 Hearn, et al., 2010, p. 24.
- 76 Hearn, et al., 2010, p. 15.

essary. The European Commission, France and Germany especially acknowledge the prominent role of smallholder agriculture and rural development in achieving food security. They have developed specific policies to direct their activities in this area. This is reflected by increased levels of aid to food security from these donors.

- At the same time, the increasingly significant role of addressing the immediate effects of food insecurity through short-term activities is acknowledged across Europe. The increase in the number of crises and post-crisis situations as well as their growing complexity as led to European donors more than doubling their relief aid from around \$450 million in 1995 to about \$1.1 billion in 2009. The drivers of this process are the European Commission, Germany and particularly the UK.
- While humanitarian assistance is usually channelled through multilateral organisations better equipped to respond to emergencies and to reach beneficiaries, development cooperation brings together states and their institutions. European donors generally share a government-centred approach and overwhelmingly support the public sector over the private sector when managing long-term aid to food security. Germany, France and the UK have a share of around 60 percent channelled through the public sector (2007-2010). The commission has even a higher share – close to 85 percent of its budget on agriculture and rural development went to the public sector during that period. The rationale is that by helping recipient governments with reforming or regulating the agricultural sector, they also help to create enabling environments for private sector investments and activities. A general thrust towards financing agricultural policy and administrative management is a pattern among the donors we have looked at, whereas direct interventions such as the provision of agricultural inputs to farmers have become less frequent.⁷⁷ One official explained that it is a controversial topic and in general not a "European thing." It receives no funding from the European Commission, France and the UK and only very recently very little from Germany.
- European donors are increasingly considering new financing modalities to leverage private investments as a way of better addressing the private sector. These take the form of financial instruments seeking private money on top of donor resources to invest in small- to medium-sized private enterprises across Africa. Examples are the Africa Enterprise Challenge Fund and its agribusiness funding element supported by the UK or the African Agriculture Fund, a similar private equity fund chiefly backed by

\$40 million from France. Germany ventures in a similar direction with its AgroAfrica scheme, which received around \$140 million (€100 million) between 2009 and 2012 from a subsidiary of the German development bank to support agri-business investments in Sub-Saharan Africa. Managed privately, these funds bypass government channels and turn directly towards the private sector.

Despite these similarities among European donors, the European Commission, Germany, UK and France differ in the attention they give to specific areas of aid to food security. Differences are also evident in the role played by grants or loans and the role of the private sector in achieving food security. Here, no clear European pattern is visible.

- European donors support different areas within aid to food security. Rural development is a key topic for Germany and makes up the largest part of its long-term aid to food security. Rural development receives far less attention from the UK, which in turn spends a much greater share of its official development assistance on relief aid. Within the large agriculture category, the four top European donors also reveal different priorities. Among the 18 specific areas of this sector, the European Commission and Germany favor agricultural support services such as agricultural development, agricultural reform, agricultural alternative development, agricultural finance and agricultural co-operatives.⁷⁸ Agricultural policy and research receive far less support. This is the opposite for France, which spends the lion's share of its budget on agricultural research. The UK on the other hand gives more support to the agricultural policy category, which essentially encompasses financial support to agricultural ministries and their sector programs and capacity building of government administrations. Here, Germany is rather hesitant.
- Another difference is the degree to which loans are used to finance food security activities and how the private sector is involved. This is particularly true if the administrative setup a donor has to follow does not allow for financial cooperation with the private sector. Where this is not the case, donors are increasingly experimenting with loans. Donors with a strong grant component like the UK are keen to expand their loan portfolio. The European Commission, still effectively bound by its regulatory rules to continue with grants, is also tentatively exploring new ways of involving the private sector better through loans.⁷⁹

This analysis shows that the top four European donors have a common interest in addressing food insecurity in Africa, yet they go about it quite differently. This

⁷⁸ Hearn, et al., 2010.

⁷⁹ European Commission, 2011c.

diversity creates opportunities for ensuring that all areas relevant to food security are covered. But much more coordination is needed to make sure that the diversity in programs and donor priorities is managed properly to achieve complementarity, to harmonize policies and to ensure that activities are not duplicated or areas ignored.

5 Improving coordination among development partners

According to policymakers and practitioners, the harmonization and coordination of European food security policies has improved considerably over the past few years. However, due to a proliferation of donors – notably new European donors, non-Western donors like China or Brazil, international philanthropies and private activists – coordinated implementation of food security activities remains difficult.

5.1 Shared views and shared policies

European donors have mechanisms to develop common policies, either through the EU consultation processes or through less formal networks of exchange and learning. The commission's documents on humanitarian food assistance and food security for example have gone through a comprehensive participatory process. The nature of this process suggests that European Commission policies seek to be a reference point for all European donors, even though the Treaty of Lisbon gives donors the right to implement their own humanitarian aid and development assistance. So Specifically for the development policy, EU member states further agreed to develop an implementation framework for the EU policy framework on food security to harmonize the food security approaches in practice. Currently under development, the process will most likely draw to a close in 2012.

Outside the EU, the harmonization of policies rests on less formal fora to exchange ideas, debate lessons learned and synthesize research results. The Global Donor Platform on Rural Development or the Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation are such networks of exchange and learning in which European donors are particularly active. Created in 2003, the Global Donor Platform for Rural Development is a network of 34 bilateral and multilateral donors, international financing institutions, intergovernmental organizations and development agencies. Its main task is "to build consensus around critical or emerging issues and formulate joint approaches – thus facilitating harmonisation and alignment between development partners' policies."⁸¹

⁸⁰ EU, 2007. Humanitarian assistance and development cooperation remain "shared parallel competences" between the EU and its member states according to article 214 of the treaty of Lisbon.

5.2 Real donor coordination in its infancy

Do shared views on challenges and solutions translate into common action? Do donors coordinate the implementation of their food security activities? Are there single programming documents for each recipient country, marking the responsibilities and financial contributions of all involved donors? Surprisingly, no. Despite the fairly broad consensus that food insecurity is one of the crucial challenges of our time, that agriculture and rural development are key to achieving food security and that there is a real need to produce better results and improve aid effectiveness, cooperation on the ground is still largely "a dream," according to a European aid expert.⁸² Why is further coordination so difficult? What has already been achieved to build upon?

The lack of donor coordination is already a challenge within many individual European donor governments and within the European Commission. In most cases, different departments or even ministries are responsible for administering humanitarian and development aid. This has exacerbated the short-term orientation of humanitarian assistance and has led to a lack of funding for recovery and transition activities, as well as to a lack of focus of development activities on prevention of and preparedness for emergencies. Improving the links between humanitarian and development approaches is critical to improving efficiency since many Sub-Saharan countries receive both development assistance and humanitarian food assistance. While most donors have recognized the importance of linking relief, rehabilitation and development, few have managed to adopt effective approaches for doing so internally, let alone internationally.⁸³

Donor coordination is also an issue within the different forms of aid, though it is more pronounced in development than in humanitarian assistance. While donor coordination remains insufficient in this area as well, several mechanisms for facilitating coordination have been created in the humanitarian arena. First, a larger share of humanitarian assistance is channelled through multilateral organizations. Around 60 percent of global in-kind food assistance is channelled through the World Food Programme, which thus assumes a de facto coordinating role. Second, the Consolidated Appeals Process, a tool used by aid organisations to plan, implement and monitor their relief activities, reports on overall funding needs of an emergency and tracks the financial contributions made by donors. Third, coordination of relief is further supported through the cluster approach, which brings together the various implementing agencies working in a

French official, September 2011.

⁸³ Steets, 2011

In 2010, the WFP delivered 3,6 million tonnes out of an estimated total of 5,7 million tonnes of food aid (63 percent share) WFP, 2011, p. 8.

specific area when they respond to emergencies.⁸⁵ The Food and Agricultural Organization and the World Food Programme established a specific food security cluster in late 2010 to ensure that food related responses are better coordinated.

Achieving donor coordination in development aid has proven even more difficult. Development cooperation mainly takes the form of bilateral government-to-government support. Donors have recognized the need to coordinate their interventions and improving coordination is at the core of the aid effectiveness agenda that most donors now subscribe to and at the heart of the 2005 Paris declaration. Through this declaration, donors committed themselves to channelling two-thirds of their country specific development assistance through locally owned development programs, such as national poverty reduction strategies or sector or thematic programs. At the heart of these aid management approaches are four key features: leadership by the host country; a single comprehensive program and budget framework; a formalized process of donor coordination and harmonization of donor procedures for reporting, budgeting, financial management and procurement; and efforts to increase the use of local systems for program design and implementation, financial management, monitoring and evaluation. So

However, the 2011 OECD monitoring survey on progress in implementing the Paris declaration indicates that donors are still nowhere near on track in coordinating their aid activities in general – and as a result in agriculture and food security as well.⁸⁸ The report notes that only "little progress has been made among donors to implement common arrangements or procedures and conduct joint missions and analytical work." Rather, "aid is becoming increasingly fragmented" – meaning that donors are coordinating less and less.⁸⁹ The more aid is channelled through coordinated mechanisms, the more donors are curtailed in pursuing their own goals with their national development aid. Alongside management problems, this remains a key impediment to greater and more institutionalized coordination on the ground.

The lack of donor coordination is a real issue in the agricultural sector, where donors experienced difficulties with locally owned development programs. In the mid-1990s, fragmented agricultural aid was increasingly replaced by aid management approaches, where donors pool their resources to facilitate its management, avoid duplications and increase impact. Sector-wide approaches became the most common way for donors to pool their aid for long-term food security and support

- At a global level, the cluster develops guidance, support capacities and rapid response mechanisms, while increasing operational coordination at national and local levels. Steets et al., 2010.
- The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness outlines five fundamental principles for making aid more effective (ownership, alignment, harmonization, results and mutual accountability).
- 87 European Commission, 2007; Cabral, 2009.
- 88 OECD, 2011.
- 89 OECD, 2011, p. 16.

the agricultural sector in recipient countries – with the local government in the driving seat. In contrast to the success of sector-wide approaches in the health and education sectors, the distinct features of the agricultural sector made these approaches prone to failure in most cases:⁹⁰

- Agriculture is a productive sector with a diverse set of producers and a market with many actors. Businesses range from individual rural farmers, to local cooperatives and large-scale agribusiness; markets may be local, regional, national or global; the value chain may be small and end with the export of just the raw material such as an unprocessed food crop or go all the way from production and processing to distribution and retail.
- Most economic activities take place in the private sector, and the public services are less important compared to other social sectors. Agricultural sector-wide approaches however start with the government and tend to leave out the private sector. This may reduce much needed investments and incentives to the private sector.
- Governments and donors may disagree about the role of the state in the agricultural sector. Those who foresee a strong role for the state see it as the principal provider of investment, the owner of agricultural cooperatives and the one who intervenes in case of market failure. Others see the role of the state as much smaller and as being restricted to that of a market regulator or facilitator. Donors increasingly favor a small role of government, whereas recipient governments may want to play a more interventionist role, with large-scale planning and market interventions. A much cited example for such an interventionist role are government-run subsidy programs on agricultural inputs or commodity prices, which may lower consumer prices on fertilizers, seeds or for food products but may in turn discourage normal market development in combination with a hefty price tag on government budgets.⁹¹
- Public sector reform and the phasing out of government activities usually receive little political support among recipient countries. A smaller government role runs counter to budget-maximizing tendencies in bureaucracies, which may translate into an ever-increasing role in services provided by the state. In addition, reduced government interventions may have significant short-term impact on the livelihoods of a country's citizens, which may not be well-received by the electorate.

⁹⁰ See Cabral, 2009 for a more detailed discussion on these deficits.

⁹¹ See for example Barrett & Mutambatsere, 2005 for a discussion on the problems of agricultural market control through the state.

Lastly, the agricultural sector and its overarching goal of achieving food security is usually not the unique territory of a few, isolated government structures. Most agricultural ministries have lost the sole responsibility for sector development, and sector approaches only designed by the agricultural ministry tend to leave out other sectors relevant for agricultural development and achieving overall food security: "Ministries of agriculture have often resisted pressures to re-define their role, and cut budgets and staffing, while many other stakeholders inside and outside government have a more important voice and impact on agricultural development than the activities of the agriculture ministry and donors to it." ⁹²

Following the lack of positive results from sector-wide approaches in agriculture, donors have begun to confront the challenges of aid coordination differently. Agricultural aid continues to be channelled through imperfect sector-wide approaches, and despite the many drawbacks, numbers of agricultural sector-wide approaches are increasing. The most common coping strategy among European donors is however the case by case funding of separate projects to counter insufficient government structures or underdeveloped sector programs. Donors prefer their own approach, but this comes at a high price, as a study commissioned by Oxfam on donor coordination around food security in Burkina, Faso, Ghana and Niger in 2009 concluded.⁹³

Problems associated with a project approach include a lack of financial predictability, parallel management structures for each project (which require considerable financial resources to run and weaken government abilities to lead the national development plans), and demands on the national ministries to address each donor individually. Ghana's Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, for example, had 16 different donor units to deal with the specific procedures demanded by the different donors in 2009. This is the opposite of effective aid to food security and only mitigated by ad-hoc and non-institutionalized coordination of activities which depend on like-minded country representatives. 94 Examples are agricultural donor working groups and similar country specific coordination bodies. Yet the author of the Oxfam study concludes for the West African countries under review that "even if these groups share information, they are often far from promoting real co-ordination for the different stakeholders' interventions or harmonising their practices in the field."95 Moreover, they usually suffer from limited participation of key stakeholders: new donors with major stakes in the African agricultural sector like China, India, Brazil, civil society groups or private sector representatives. 6 And they tend to neglect a holistic approach

```
92 Foster, 2000, p. 10.
```

⁹³ Crola, 2009.

⁹⁴ EU official, September 2011.

⁹⁵ Crola, 2009, p. 17.

⁹⁶ Crola, 2009, pp. 18-19; Global Donor Platform for Rural Development, 2008; Interview.

to food security, leaving out vital fields such as linking short and long-term aid to food security or nutrition. At the same time, separate working groups on topics such as nutrition, rural development or agriculture create more and not less burden on staff time, such as is the case in Mozambique. Combined, these are serious drawbacks of the project approach and make a new approach to coordination much more urgent if donors want to succeed in helping to eradicate hunger across Africa.

At the European level, the first move in addressing these paramount stumbling blocks to greater aid effectiveness was made in the fall of 2011. The European Commission proposed more coordinated action among European donors in its new Agenda for Change. The proposal calls for joint programming of the commission's and member states' aid, ideally resulting in a single joint programming document with "the sectoral division of labour and financial allocations per sector and donor." The commission proposes that the commission itself and member states follow this approach when devising their bilateral implementation plans: "Operationally, the EU and Member States should make use of aid modalities that facilitate joint action such as budget support (under a 'single EU contract'), EU trust funds and delegated cooperation." Potentially a big leap forward, its implementation will require strong political leadership from Germany, France and the UK as well as acceptance of the fact that this reduces their own autonomy.

6 Conclusion

Sub-Saharan Africa has huge potential for agricultural growth and for achieving food security for its citizens. Donors, African countries and entrepreneurs sense that the agricultural sector, the backbone of many Sub-Saharan African economies, can turn from a receiver of aid to a flourishing part of the economy. The question is how donors can take on the challenge of investment in smallholder farming and improve the situation of millions of food insecure while at the same time supporting the creation of an economic sector that attracts workers and stimulates broad economic growth.

This review of European donors and their support of food security in Sub-Saharan Africa demonstrated that donors by and large reversed their ailing investments and neglect of agriculture and food security in Sub-Saharan Africa over the past few years. With variations in nominal terms, the European Commission, Germany, France and the UK have all increased their budgets during the past decade. Nonetheless, aid for food security to Sub-Saharan Africa from these donors still remains at a low level given the importance of this sector, its potential for poverty reduction and economic growth and in relation to overall volumes of development assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa. The average share of the reviewed donors was around 10 percent between 1995 and 2010. This points to a gap between rhetoric and reality, a gap that is even closing at much slower slow pace now with the drop in aid to food security in 2010.

Still, the quality of aid matters as much as the quantity does. The review has shown that there is a need for substantial improvement in the way aid is managed and implemented on the ground if donors want to achieve more impact with the money they invest. The European Commission, France, Germany and the United Kingdom each prioritize different approaches, such as budget support to country-led agricultural investment plans, agricultural research, farmers' capacity building or the direct provision of inputs like tools, seeds and fertilizers to smallholders. Most favor government-centered approaches. But market-centered approaches, which use the private sector and local businesses as a reference point rather than individuals, are creating more interest among donors as well. The differences in approaching food insecurity among the European donors should however not lead to the conclusion to smooth out all the bumps and have everyone do the same. Rather, the quality of aid to food security will be determined by finding synergies to ensure that gaps are closed and duplications avoided. Here, greater donor cooperation among Europeans (in particular with fellow donors), the emerging actors of international development cooperation and recipient governments is necessary.

Bibliography

AFD. (2010). Cadre d'Intervention Sectoriel. Développement rural 2010-2012. Paris: Agence Française de Développement.

AFD. (2011). AFD 2010 Annual Report. Paris: Agence Française de Développement.

African Smallholder Farmers Group. (2010). Africa's smallholder farmers. Approaches that work for viable livelihoods.

Arnold, T. (2011). After the World Food Crisis of 2008: global initiatives on trial. *Rural* 21, 3, 8 - 12.

Auer, C. (2010). Global Partnership for Agriculture and Food Security: Actors, missions and achievements. *Rural* 21, 5, 11-16.

Barrett, C. B., Binder, A., & Steets, J. (Eds.). (2012). *Uniting on Food Assistance. The Case for Transatlantic Cooperation*. New York: Routledge.

Barrett, C. B., & Maxwell, D. G. (2005). Food Aid After Fifty Years. Recasting its role. London: Routledge.

Barrett, C. B., & Mutambatsere, E. (2005). Agricultural markets in developing countries.

BMELV. (2009). Bilateral cooperative programme abroad of the BMELV. Berlin: Federal Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Consumer Protection.

BMZ. (2008). Budget Support in the Framework of Programme-Oriented Joint Financing (PJF). Bonn: Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

BMZ. (2011a). Entwicklung ländlicher Räume und ihr Beitrag zur Ernährungssicherung. Bonn: Federal Ministry for Economic Development and Cooperation.

BMZ. (2011b). The Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development increase efficiency and step up cooperation

Bush, R. (2010). Food Riots: Poverty, Power and Protest. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 10 (1), 119 - 129.

CAADP. (2009). How are countries measuring up to the Maputo declaration? Johannesburg: Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme.

Cabral, L. (2007). Funding agriculture: Not 'how much?' but 'what for?' *Opinion*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Cabral, L. (2009). Sector-based approaches in agriculture. Past experience, current setting and future options. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Cathie, J. (1997). European Food Aid Policy. Aldershot: Ashgate.

CDU, CSU, & FDP. (2009). Wachstum, Bildung, Zusammenhalt. Koalitionsvertrag zwischen CDU, CSU und FDP. 17. Legislaturperiode.

CICAD. (2005). Strategie Sectorielle Agriculture et Securite Alimentaire. Paris: Interministerial Committee for Cooperation and Development.

Crola, J.-D. (2009). Aid for Agriculture: Turning Promises into Reality on the Ground. Co-ordinating Donor Interventions in Three West-African Countries: Oxfam International.

DFID. (2004). Official development assistance to agriculture. London: Department for International Development.

DFID. (2005). Growth and poverty reduction: the role of agriculture. London: Department for International Development.

DFID. (2007). DFID's 2005 Agriculture Policy. An Interim Evaluation *Evaluation Report EV672*. London: Department for International Development.

DFID. (2009). Agriculture and Food Security: Pre-Evaluation Review of DFID Policy. London: Department for International Development.

DFID. (2011). Operational Plan 2011-2015. DFID – Growth and Resilience Department (GRD). London: Department for International Development.

ECOSOC. (2009). The Status of Food Security in Africa. Addis Ababa: Economic Commission for Africa, Committee on Food Security and Sustainable Development.

EIB. (2011). EIB financing in African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. Luxembourg: European Investment Bank.

Treaty of Lisbon amending the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, signed at Lisbon, 13 December 2007 (2007).

European Commission. (2007). Support to sector programmes covering the three financing modalities: Sector Budget Support, Pool Funding and EC project procedures. Brussels: European Commission.

Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. An EU policy framework to assist developing countries in addressing food security challenges (2011a).

Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament. Humanitarian Food Assistance (2011b).

Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Increasing the impact of EU Development Policy: an Agenda for Change (2011c).

FAO. (2010). The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2010. Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

FAO. (2011). The State of Food Insecurity in the World. How does international price volatility affect domestic economies and food security? Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Foster, M. (2000). New Approaches to Development Co-operation: What can we learn from experience with implementing Sector Wide Approaches? London: Overseas Development Institute.

French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs. (2008). Évaluation de l'aide alimentaire française programmée. Paris: French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs.

G8. (2011). Deauville Accountability Report. G8 Commitments on Health and Food Security: State of Delivery and Results. Paris: French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs.

G20-G8 France 2011. (2011). Food security - Why talk about food security within the G20, from http://www.g20-g8.com/g8-g20/g20/english/priorities-for-france/the-priorities-of-the-french-presidency/sheets/food-security.339.html

GAO. (2008). International Food Security. Insufficient Efforts by Host Governments and Donors Threaten Progress to Halve Hunger in Sub-Saharan Africa by 2015. Washington, DC: United States Government Accountability Office.

Geoffrey Livingston, Steven Schonberger, & Sara Delaney. (2011). *Sub-Saharan Africa: The state of smallholders in agriculture*. IFAD Conference on New Directions for Smallholder Agriculture, 24-25 January, 2011, Rome.

Global Donor Platform for Rural Development. (2008). An Overview of Agricultural Donor Coordination Structures at the County Level in Africa. Bonn: Global Donor Platform for Rural Development.

Global Donor Platform for Rural Development. (2011a). Aid to agriculture, rural development and food security. Unpacking aid flows for enhanced effectiveness. Bonn: Global Donor Platform for Rural Development.

Global Donor Platform for Rural Development. (2011b). Platform Knowledge Piece 2. Aid to agriculture, rural development and food security: Germany working paper. Bonn: Global Donor Platform for Rural Development.

Global Donor Platform for Rural Development. (2011c). Platform Knowledge Piece 2. Aid to agriculture, rural development and food security: UK working paper. Bonn: Global Donor Platform for Rural Development.

Global Donor Platform for Rural Development. (no date). About

Hazell, P. (2002). Green revolution. Curse or blessing? Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Hazell, P. (2009). The Asian Green Revolution *IFPRI Discussion Paper 00911*. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Hearn, B., Koc, V., Piesse, J., & Thirtle, C. (2010). A Preliminary Analysis of European Assistance to Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa. London: Imperial College London.

IFAD. (2010). Rural Poverty Report 2011. New realities, new challenges: new opportunities for tomorrow's generation. Rome: International Fund for Agricultural Development.

Imperial College London. (2011). France, from http://www3.imperial.ac.uk/africanagriculturaldevelopment/resources/europeanactivity/donorprofiles/france

Imperial College London, Wadonda Consult, Michigan State University, & Overseas Development Institute. (2007). Evaluation of the 2006/7 Agricultural Input Supply Programme, Malawi. Interim Report.

Islam, N. (2011). Foreign Aid to Agriculture. Review of Facts and Analysis *IF-PRI Discussion Paper 01053*. Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute.

Leiderer, S. (2010). Budget Support as an Aid Instrument – neither Pandemonium nor Panacea. Bonn: German Development Institute.

Mathys, C., Gaus, A., & Steets, J. (2012). Food assistance policy and institutions in the United States and European Union. In C. B. Barrett, A. Binder & J. Steets (Eds.), *Uniting on Food Assistance. The Case for Transatlantic Cooperation*. New York: Routledge.

NEPAD. (2011). The Abuja Declaration on Fertilizers for an African Green Revolution. Status of Implementation at Regional and National Levels. Johannesburg: New Partnership for Africa's Development.

OECD. (2010). Measuring Aid to Agriculture. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

OECD. (2011). Aid Effectiveness 2005-10: Progress in implementing the Paris Declaration. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

Omilola, B., Yade, M., Karugia, J., & Chilonda, P. (2010). Monitoring and Assessing Targets of the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) and the First Millennium Development Goal (MDG) in Africa *Re-SAKSS Working Paper No. 31*.

ONE. (2010). The Data Report 2010. Monitoring the G8 Promise to Africa.

Sénat. (no date). Projet de loi de finances pour 2010 : Aide publique au développement, from http://www.senat.fr/rap/a09-102-3/a09-102-38.html

Shaw, J. (2009). Global Food and Agricultural Institutions. London: Routledge.

Steets, J. (2011). Donor Strategies for Addressing the Transition Gap and Linking Humanitarian and Development Assistance. Berlin: Global Public Policy Institute.

Steets, J., Grünewald, F., Binder, A., Geoffroy, V. d., Kaufmann, D., Krüger, S., Sokpoh, B. (2010). Cluster Approach Evaluation 2. Synthesis Report. Berlin: Global Public Policy Institute.

UKAN. (no date). Budget Support and Program Approaches

UNCTAD. (2009). World Investment Report 2009. Transnational Corporations, Agricultural Production and Development. Geneva: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

UNDP. (2005). Human Development Report 2005. International cooperation at a crossroads - Aid, trade and security in an unequal world. Summary. New York: United Nations Development Programme.

UNIDO. (2011). Agribusiness for Africa's Prosperity. Vienna: United Nations Industrial Development Organization.

WFP. (2011). 2010 Food Aid Flows. Rome: World Food Programme.

WHO. (no date). Food Security, from http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/sto-ry028/en/

World Bank. (2008). World Development Report 2008. Agriculture for Development. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank. (2011). Missing Food. The Case of Postharvest Grain Losses in Sub-Saharan Africa. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Zimmermann, R., Brüntrup, M., Kolavalli, S., & Flaherty, K. (2009). *Agricultural Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa. Understanding CAADP and APRM Policy Processes*. Bonn: German Development Institute.

Annex A: CRS purpose codes

CRSCODE	CRS CODE DESCRIPTION	DETAILS
Agricultural policy	ral policy	
31110	Agricultural policy & administrative management	Agricultural sector policy, planning and programs; aid to agricultural ministries; institution capacity building and advice; unspecified agriculture.
31130	Agricultural land resources	Including soil degradation control; soil improvement; drainage of water logged areas; soil desalination; agricultural land surveys; land reclamation; erosion control, desertification control.
31164	Agrarian reform	Including agricultural sector adjustment.
Agricultu	Agricultural production	
31120	Agricultural development	Integrated projects; farm development.
31161	Food crop production	Including grains (wheat, rice, barley, maize, rye, oats, millet, sorghum); horticulture; vegetables; fruit and berries; other annual and perennial crops. Code 32161 used for agro-industries.
31162	Industrial crops/export crops	Including sugar; coffee, cocoa, tea; oil seeds, nuts, kernels; fiber crops; tobacco; rubber. Code 32161 for used for agro-industries.
31163	Livestock	Animal husbandry; animal feed aid.
31165	Agricultural alternative development	Projects to reduce illicit drug cultivation through other agricultural marketing and production opportunities.
Agricultu	Agricultural water resources	
31140	Agricultural water resources	Irrigation, reservoirs, hydraulic structures, ground water exploitation for agricultural use.
Agricultu	Agricultural inputs	
31150	Agricultural inputs	Supply of seeds, fertilizers, agricultural machinery/equipment.
Agricultu	Agricultural education/research/services	
31166	Agricultural extension	Non-formal training in agriculture.
31181	Agricultural education/training	
31182	Agricultural research	Plant breeding, physiology, genetic resources, ecology, taxonomy, disease control, agricultural bio-technology; including livestock research (animal health, breeding and genetics, nutrition, physiology).
31191	Agricultural services	Marketing policies & organization; storage and transportation, creation of strategic reserves.
31192	Plant and post-harvest prot. & pest control	Including integrated plant protection, biological plant protection activities, supply and management of agrochemicals, supply of pesticides, plant protection policy and legislation.
31193	Agricultural financial services	Financial intermediaries for the agricultural sector including credit schemes; crop insurance.
31194	Agricultural co-operatives	Including farmers' organisations.
31195	Livestock/veterinary services	Animal health and management, genetic resources, feed resources.

CRS purpose codes (continued)

CRS CODI	CRS CODE DESCRIPTION	DETAILS
Forestry		
31210	Forestry policy and administrative management	Forestry sector policy, planning and programs; institution capacity building and advice; forest surveys; unspecified forestry and agro-forestry activities.
31220	Forestry development	Afforestation for industrial and rural consumption; exploitation and utilization; erosion control, desertification control; integrated forestry projects.
31261	Fuelwood/charcoal	Forestry development whose primary purpose is production of fuelwood and charcoal.
31281	Forestry education/training	
31282	Forestry research	Including artificial regeneration, genetic improvement, production methods, fertilizer, harvesting.
31291	Forestry services	
Fishing		
313X	Fishing	
31310	Fishing policy and administrative management	Fishing sector policy, planning and programs; institution capacity building and advice; ocean and coastal fishing; marine and freshwater fish surveys and prospecting; fishing boats/equipment; unspecified fishing activities.
31320	Fishery development	Exploitation and utilization of fisheries; fish stock protection; aquaculture; integrated fishery projects.
31381	Fishery education/training	
31382	Fishery research	Pilot fish culture; marine/freshwater biological research.
31391	Fishery services	Fishing harbours; fish markets; fishery transport and cold storage.
Rural dev	Rural development	
43040	Rural development	Integrated rural development projects; e.g. regional development planning; promotion of decentralised and multi-sectoral competence for planning, coordination and management; implementation of regional development and measures (including natural reserve management); land management; land use planning; land settlement and resettlement and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons (72010)]; functional integration of rural and urban areas; geographical information systems.
Food aid/	Food aid/Food security programs/relief aid	
52010	Food aid/food security programmes	Supply of edible human food under national or international programmes including transport costs; cash payments made for food supplies; project food aid and food aid for market sales when benefiting sector not specified; excluding emergency food aid.
Emergen	Emergency food aid/relief aid	
72040	Emergency food aid	Food aid normally for general free distribution or special supplementary feeding programmes; short-term relief to targeted population groups affected by emergency situations. Excludes non-emergency food security assistance programmes/food aid (52010).

Annex B: Summary of aid to food security in Sub-Saharan Africa by donor (millions 2009 US\$)

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	AVG
EUROPEAN COMMISSION																	
Emergency food aid	ı	0,02	3,44	ı	ı	31,34	96′2	103,11	112,47	93,23	101,64	141,40	250,10	274,97	263,88	244,56	125,24
Food aid/Food security programs	169,62	224,96	254,58	226,65	271,24	288,48	326,06	287,04	114,40	147,38	332,91	248,74	78,50	96,31	128,66	87,48	205,19
Total relief aid	169,62	224,98	258,02	226,65	271,24	319,82	334,02	390,14	226,88	240,60	434,55	390,14	328,60	371,28	392,54	332,04	306,95
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	125,24	52,67	28,42	72,03	168,01	262,11	150,21	126,73	141,19	169,43	120,05	154,32	204,20	210,42	334,94	358,11	167,38
Rural development	71,63	54,13	32,38	29,24	100,41	34,74	6,83	10,09	64,19	173,91	65,15	116,83	135,59	63,27	153,59	61,19	75,20
Total development aid	196,88	106,80	08'09	101,26	268,42	296,85	157,04	136,81	205,38	343,35	185,20	271,15	339,79	273,69	488,53	449,3	242,58
Total aid to food security to SSA	366,49	331,78	318,82	327,92	539,66	616,67	491,06	526,95	432,25	583,95	619,75	62,199	668,39	644,97	881,07	781,34	549,52
Total ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa	2218,78	2134,93	1698,42	3902,14	4227,27	4642,26	3353,17	3616,21	4837,73	3997,56	5953,65	4846,08	4507,97	6644,64	5363,46	3454,17	4087,40
Share of aid to food security to ODA	16,5%	15,5%	18,8%	8,4%	12,8%	13,3%	14,6%	14,6%	%6′8	14,6%	10,4%	13,6%	14,8%	%2′6	16,4%	22,6%	14,1%

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	AVG
FRANCE																	
Emergency food aid	I	ı	ı	ı	ı	I	ı	ı	1	32,12	81,03	6,02	1	ı	I	ı	39,72
Food aid/Food security programs	1,06	1,57	2,59	ı	1	1,77	ı	23,06	53,02	40,82	ı	28,94	31,58	47,78	32,47	32,53	24,77
Total relief aid	1,06	1,57	2,59	00'0	00'0	1,77	00'0	23,06	53,02	72,94	81,03	34,95	31,58	47,78	32,47	32,53	26,02
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	119,96	49,58	133,38	105,98	110,99	139,50	130,13	139,85	95,14	66,18	41,08	177,06	359,22	105,25	86'56	101,48	123,17
Rural development	20,65	36,93	56,04	38,01	6,29	69,55	38,16	42,52	15,87	18,45	15,07	33,23	23,93	14,93	26,88	56,29	32,05
Total development aid	140,61	86,51	189,42	143,99	117,28	209,04	168,29	182,38	111,01	84,63	56,15	210,30	383,16	120,18	122,87	157,77	155,22
Total aid to food security to SSA	141,67	88,08	192,01	143,99	117,28	210,82	168,29	205,44	164,03	157,57	137,18	245,25	414,73	167,96	155,34	190,30	181,25
Total ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa	1549,05	1549,05 1494,00 1883,26		2647,71	2583,61	2496,64	2311,54	4236,10	4971,24	4230,18	5393,91	5907,51	3313,21	3165,85	4039,68	4504,73	3420,51
Share of aid to food security to ODA	%1′6	%6′5	10,2%	5,4%	4,5%	8,4%	7,3%	4,8%	3,3%	3,7%	2,5%	4,2%	12,5%	5,3%	3,8%	4,2%	%0′9

Note: Annual commitments according to CRS purpose codes in constant prices 2009 US\$. Source: OECD/DAR website (last accessed 20 November 2011)

Summary of aid to food security in Sub-Saharan Africa by donor (millions 2009 US\$) (continued)

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	AVG
GERMANY										-							
Emergency food aid	63,42	60,29	37,30	32,53	34,04	53,13	51,31	80,37	35,64	45,57	49,60	56,15	31,45	44,07	35,32	23,88	45,88
Food aid/Food security programs	12,39	32,95	21,01	33,89	25,98	5,91	15,95	5,94	19,79	3,59	6,48	10,43	27,37	29,53	69,94	20,53	21,67
Total relief aid	75,81	98,24	58,32	66,42	60,02	59,04	67,26	86,30	55,43	49,16	26,08	85'99	58,82	73,60	105,26	44,41	67,55
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	82,81	117,08	23,26	47,97	77,15	64,87	55,09	65,73	79,53	106,85	84,83	90′29	65,54	88,90	09'96	148,35	79,48
Rural development	ı	7,12	ı	12,19	15,90	35,00	35,14	44,40	46,51	31,29	43,53	70,73	45,41	14,81	47,93	44,57	35,32
Total development aid	82,81	124,19	23,26	91′09	93,06	28'66	90,23	110,13	126,04	138,13	128,36	137,78	110,95	103,72	144,53	192,92	110,38
Total aid to food security to SSA	158,62	222,43	81,58	126,58	153,08	158,91	157,49	196,43	181,48	187,30	184,44	204,36	169,77	177,31	249,80	237,33	177,93
Total ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa	992,89	864,49	720,80	1116,53	1298,15	1184,69	1061,49	1686,87	2667,97	1510,99	3235,87	4102,04	2108,96	2950,81	1775,63	2147,36	1839,10
Share of aid to food security to ODA	16,0%	25,7%	11,3%	11,3%	11,8%	13,4%	14,8%	11,6%	%8′9	12,4%	2,7%	%0′5	8,1%	%0′9	14,1%	11,1%	11,6%

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	AVG
UNITED KINGDOM																	
Emergency food aid	ı	ı	4,88	12,31	4,54	46,45	8,50	47,86	116,43	35,87	61,45	84,93	15,60	72,41	88,79	41,81	45,85
Food aid/Food security programs	86'99	ı	0,21	6,50	6,43	0,47	8,60	83,24	42,97	13,33	107,83	40,53	40,64	46,36	5,96	137,81	40,52
Total relief aid	86'99	00'0	5,09	18,82	10,97	46,92	17,10	131,10	159,41	49,20	169,28	125,46	56,24	118,77	94,75	179,62	78,11
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	68,17	72,78	67,35	102,74	44,74	85,05	14,94	35,40	72,81	36,53	26,70	40,79	15,21	6,50	90,49	17,44	51,73
Rural development	5,36	3,42	4,38	19,04	21,21	39,24	10,88	26,78	13,12	13,42	32,07	1,13	0,34	8,02	0,47	25,31	14,01
Total development aid	73,54	76,20	71,73	121,78	65,95	124,30	25,81	62,17	85,93	49,95	88,77	41,91	15,55	14,52	96'06	42,75	65,74
Total aid to food security to SSA	140,52	76,20	76,82	140,60	76,92	171,22	42,92	193,28	245,34	91,66	258,04	167,37	71,79	133,29	185,71	222,37	143,85
Total ODA to Sub-Saharan Africa	758,96	938,22	768,46	1951,86	972,46	2919,85	1292,49	1359,63	2013,63	2330,15	4774,06	5850,23	1797,10	2064,34	3876,20	1481,48	2244,51
Share of aid to food security to ODA	18,5%	8,1%	40,01	7,2%	%6′2	%6'5	3,3%	14,2%	12,2%	4,3%	5,4%	2,9%	4,0%	%5′9	4,8%	15,0%	8,1%

Note: Annual commitments according to CRS purpose codes in constant prices 2009 US\$. Source: OECD/DAR website (last accessed 20 November 2011)

Annex C: Aid to agriculture, forestry, fisheries in Sub-Saharan Africa by donor (millions 2009 US\$)

		2002	35			2006	9			2007				2008				2009			2	2010		TOTAL
	EC	FR	GR	UK	EC	FR	GR	UK	EC	FR	GR (UK	EC F	FR C	GR UK	(EC	FR	GR	UK	EC	FR	GR	UK	
AGRICULTURAL POLICY																								
31110 Agricultural policy & admin. management	34,4	16	6′0	24,1	70,5	1,5	5'0	15,4	3,1	6,1	17,4 1	12,5	15,3 10	10,9	15,5 3,2	49,6	5 26,2	10	9	51,3	11,4	29,8	6′0	432,53
31130 Agricultural land resources	0	0	24,1	4	0	3	2,7	1,3	0	3,6	0	0	0	3 2.	22,2 0	0	1,7	1,6	1,3	13,7	1,3	23,3	1,0	112,75
31164 Agrarian reform	0	0	-	0	0	0	4,4	0	15,7	0	8′0	0	0	0 1	1,6 0	0	0	0	0	0'0	0'0	10,3	0′0	33,76
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION																								
31120 Agricultural development	20,9	0	16,4	3,1	14,1	40,5	36,9	9′01	34,1	32,7) //21) 6′0	30,4 22,1		22,4 0	116	4,8	33,4	0	148,6	23,1	42,8	2,1	673,6
31161 Food crop production	0	0	2,6	0	0	29,9	8′0	9′0	2'0	14,4	6'0	0	0	0	0,3 0	101	0,1	0,2	0	0,2	41,6	6'0	0'0	103,29
31162 Industrial crops/export crops	0	0	0,2	11,4	2,6	22,4	0	0	112,5	2,4	0	0 10	101,2	0	0 0	40,1	15,3	0	0	47,0	0'0	0,0	0,0	355,09
31163 Livestock	0	0	1,0	0	14,7	0	9'0	0	0	0	0	1,5	1,6	0	0,4 0,1	8'9	0	0	0,2	12,4	0'0	0,3	0,4	46,6
31165 Agricultural alternative development	0	6'0	0	6'0	0	0	6'0	0	0	2,2	1,7	0	0	0	0 2'0	0	0	0,2	0	0'0	0'0	1,7	0'0	61,7
AGRICULTURAL WATER RESOURCES																								
31140 Agricultural water resources	2,6	0	24,6	0	2,2	0	2,2	0	11,2	0	13,4	0	0 1	. 2'1	0 41	41,8	16,4	36,6	0	0'0	1,0	5,6	0'0	175,37
AGRICULTURAL INPUTS																								
31150 Agricultural inputs	0	0	0	0	0	0	2′0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1 0	0	0	9′2	0	0'0	1,0	6'3	0'0	19,63
Agricultural education/research/services																								
31166 Agricultural extension	0	0	2	0	0	0	2,7	0,1	0	0	2'0	0	0 15	15,4 1	1,8 0	0	0	2,3	0	0'0	0'0	3,0	0'0	28,03
31181 Agricultural education/training	0	0	2,4	0	0	5,5	2,4	0	0	3,9	1	0	0 3	3,3	1,7 0	0	5,8	0,2	0	0'0	1,5	2,9	0'0	30,64
31182 Agricultural research	12	22,6	1,5	0	11,6	63,5	2′0	0	5,3	297,6	0,1	0	14,1 29	6'62	0 0	0	16,8	0,2	0,3	15,9	18,0	6'0	0'0	510,94
31191 Agricultural services	0	0	6′0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,7,0	13,9	0	0,5	0	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,0	16,3
31192 Plant and post-harvest prot. & pest control	0	0	9'0	0	0	0	0	0	1,4	0	0,2	0	0 5	2,7	0 0	0	1,6	0	0	0,0	0,1	0′0	0,0	9,45
31193 Agricultural financial services	0	0	0,3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0 0	0	0	0	0	13,8	0,0	3,1	0,0	17,21
31194 Agricultural co-operatives	0	0	1,5	0	0	0	2,9	0	5,5	0	0	0	7 0	0,3	0 0	0	0	0	0	0,0	0,0	0′0	0'0	17,2
31195 Livestock/veterinary services	9,3	0	0,3	0	18,5	0	1,0	0	5,7	0	0,2	0	0	0	0,1 0	13,9	0	0,4	0	41,5	0,3	2'0	0′0	90,95
FORESTRY																								
312X Forestry	4,1	0	6,3	13,6	2,9	7,4	2,7	12,3	0	0	6'9	0,3 3.	33,2 7	7,1 3	3,5 2,9	9 13,6	, 0,1	2,7	11,2	0'0	0,3	6,3	12,3	149,68
FISHING																								
313X Fishing	36,8	2,1	0	0,2	1,71	3,4	1,5	0,4	6	0	0	0	0,1 5	5,8	0 0,4	1 29,2	7,2	9′0	0,1	13,7	3,7	7,2	0,7	139,27
TOTAL	120,1	41	9'58	26,7	154,2	1,7,7,1	1/29	40,7	204,2	362,9	62 1	15,2 21	210,4 10	105,2 8	9'9 2'88	335	96	96,5	1,61	358,1	101,4	148,3	17,4	

Note: Annual commitments according to CRS purpose codes in constant prices 2009 US dollars. Source: OECD/DAC CRS website (last accessed 20. November 2011)

Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi)

Reinhardtstr. 15 10117 Berlin

Phone: +49 · 30 · 275 959 75-0 Fax: +49 · 30 · 690 88 200

gppi@gppi.net • www.gppi.net